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Dismembering Appearances: The Cultural Meaning of the Body and its Parts in Eighteenth-Century Understanding

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Abstract

This thesis explores the cultural meanings attached to the visible appearance of the body and its parts in eighteenth-century understanding. It is situated within historical scholarship concerned with the embodied display of 'politeness' and the relationship between the body and categories of social difference. The research draws upon a range of popular literature, including conduct books, popular medical advice books, midwifery manuals and advice guides.

Chapter one reveals the way that contemporaries conceptualised the relationship between the individual body and society through investigation of various aspects of abdominal experience. Chapter two illustrates how the appearance of the skin was thought to convey identity information about an individual's health, temperament, character, gender, class and race. Chapter three then continues by exploring similar themes with respect to the face. The next two chapters focus on the corporeal display of gender; while chapter four argues that changing male and female hairstyles reflected shifting gender mores, chapter five evidences how female breasts were seen as visible markers of sexual difference. Chapter six examines how class informed how the hands were employed and displayed by different social actors. Finally, chapter seven looks at how 'politeness' informed how the legs were trained to enact various cultural performances.

In this thesis it is argued that in the eighteenth century popular authors sought to uncover how bodies worked by appropriating anatomical models of examining the body through scrutiny of its parts. Yet, it will be demonstrated that discussion of the body's parts within popular literature was distinctive because it reflected readers' growing preoccupation with how the body, as a social actor, conveyed information about individual identity.

The thesis contributes to present scholarship by detailing a range of meanings which were attached to different parts of the body that have previously been elided by historians. Additionally, it demonstrates that discursive dismemberment, though located in eighteenth-century discourses on the body, represents a historically reflective and methodologically useful mode of examining the lived body in the eighteenth century.

Contents

Bibliography

Declaration of Authorship

I, Kathryn Woods, hereby declare that this thesis has been composed by myself and the work in it is entirely my own. The work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification except as specified. Signed:

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List of Illustrations

Conventions

Note on the Text

Throughout this thesis, original spelling, punctuation, italicisation, capitalisation and word abbreviation has been retained in quotations from the primary source material. This is why the spelling of many words in the quotations is inconsistent. In instances where the contemporary words and spellings are unfamiliar to modern readers, definitions will be provided in the footnotes.

Printed Book Formats

Folio	1 leaf = 2 pages	
Quarto	4 leaves = 8 pages	(4o)
Octavo	8 leaves = 16 pages	(8o)
Duodecimo	12 leaves = 24 pages	(12o)
Decimo-sexto/sixteenmo	16 leaves = 32 pages	(16o)
Decimo-octavo/eighteenmo	18 leaves = 36 pages	(18o)

Currency

1 shilling (1s) = 12 pence (12d)

I pound (£1) = 20 shillings (20s)

I guinea = 21 shillings (21s., or £1. 1s)

Introduction

The 'Polite' Body

> The world has long since decided the Matter…People where they are not known, are generally honour'd according to their Cloaths and other Accoutrements they have about them; from the richness of them we judge of their Wealth, and by the ordering of them we guess at their Understanding. It is this which encourages every body, who is conscious of his little Merit, if he is any ways able, to wear Cloaths above his Rank, especially in larger and Populous Cities, where obscure men may hourly meet with fifty Strangers to one Acquaintance, and consequently have the Pleasure of being esteem'd by a vast Majority, not as what they are, but what they appear to be.[1]

In *The Fable of the Bees* (1714), the plain-speaking Bernard Mandeville observed that dramatic population growth and commercialisation was transforming many British communities into large anonymous settlements where a person's identity could often only be identified by their appearance. Yet, many 'polite' social commentators believed that the trust which society vested in appearances was misplaced as they considered looks to be deceptive. The leading arbiters of politeness certainly proposed that manners, as displayed by actions and behaviour, should be used as a measure of character rather than external appearances. In *The Spectator,* it was observed:

> It is an irreparable Injustice we are guilty of towards one another, when we are prejudiced by the Looks and Features of those whom we do not know. How often do we conceive Hatred against a Person of Worth, or fancy a Man to be proud and ill-natured by his Aspect, whom we think we cannot esteem too much when we are acquainted with his real Character?[2]

So what, contemporary readers must have pondered, really was the best measure of character: looks or actions? In *The Polite Lady* (1760), Charles Allen revealed how contemporaries wrestled with the contradictions between what popular 'polite' discourse instructed and the reality of their own lived experiences. In doing so, Allen gave away what the elite actually thought about appearances. Although presenting himself as 'no great friend' to 'the judging of people's characters by their

[1] B. Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* (London, 1714), p. 103.
[2] J. Addison & R. Steele, *The Spectator,* No. 86 (8th June 1711).

looks', Allen admitted that he believed there was at least 'something in it.'[3] Hence, he informed his fictional daughter: 'it concerns every young lady to be very careful of her looks, since her character depends as much on these as any other part of her behaviour.'[4]

Comparison of these views evidences that there were many contrasting opinions about what the appearance of the visible body revealed about individual identity in the eighteenth century. Yet, in spite of their differences of opinion, one feature that all these discourses shared was the way they sought to detail the uses and meanings of the body through analysis of its parts. The research here will illustrate that this process of discursive dismemberment was employed as it enabled authors to investigate how different parts of the body worked in conjunction with the corporeal whole and to outline what a person's appearance suggested about their identity. It will be argued that this process also permitted writers to discuss openly what looks indicated about character, while appearing loyal to the 'polite' assertion that people should not be judged on external appearances.

By replicating the method these authors employed and analysing discursive representations of the body's parts, this research will uncover the multiplicity of ways identity was believed to be stamped on corporeality in popular thought. However, before commencing this investigation it will be essential to provide some explanation of the historical and historiographical contexts that have informed the construction of this project. This introduction will therefore proceed by exploring the contours of historical scholarship concerning 'politeness' and embodied display in elite culture. It will then look at how the body and categories of social difference have been examined by eighteenth-century historians. Next, it will explain some of the methodological considerations that have guided the formulation of this research and provide an introduction to the sources. Finally, it outlines the main aims of this thesis and how they are addressed in later chapters.

[3] C. Allen, *The Polite Lady; or a Course of Female Education* (London, 1760), p. 217.
[4] Ibid, p. 219.

'Politeness' and Embodied Display

In the last thirty years 'politeness' has assumed an important place in historical interpretations of eighteenth-century British culture. In its most basic formulation 'politeness' is defined as a set of behaviours concerned with the display of form, sociability, improvement, worldliness and gentility, which informed the nature of inter-personal interaction in eighteenth-century Britain.[5] Lawrence Klein asserts that as a code of behaviour politeness primarily involved the display of socially agreed forms of 'decorum in behaviour and personal style.' He adds: 'Proponents of politeness frankly acknowledged the necessity, even the virtue, of social artifice'.[6] Nonetheless, politeness was much more than mere etiquette. Instead, politeness represented an all-embracing philosophy of social behaviour that promoted openness and accessibility within society, but which at the same time set demanding prescriptive standards of how precisely people should behave towards one another.[7]

The emergence of politeness was synonymous with many of the political, economic and social changes occurring in eighteenth-century Britain. To begin with, politeness was a form of social behaviour that was necessitated by the removal of high culture out from the 'narrow confines of the court', and its relocation in a range of new and diverse social spaces developing in London from the late seventeenth century.[8] Counting among these social spaces were assembly halls, coffee-houses, debating clubs, theatres, galleries, gardens and concert halls. Whilst at the beginning of the period these spaces appeared only in London, over the course of the century, as part of the 'English urban renaissance', they emerged in provincial urban centres all over Britain.[9] This served in extending the geographical remit of the elite's engagement with high culture and provided the elite living in many different areas with shared forms of cultural experience.

The development of the public sphere offered the elite opportunities for new forms of social engagement and display. John Brewer argues: 'from the individual's

[5] L. Klein, 'Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century', *The Historical Journal*, 45:4 (2002), p. 877.
[6] Ibid, p. 874.
[7] M. Snodin & J. Styles (eds), *Design and the Decorative Arts: Britain, 1500-1900* (London, 2001), p. 183.
[8] J. Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination* (New York, 1997), p. 3; R. H. Sweet, 'Topographies of Politeness', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, 12 (2002), pp. 355-74.
[9] P. Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 270-1.

point of view, access to culture and self-presentation in the cultural arena was a vital means of maintaining or attaining social status and of establishing social distinctions.'[10] In this mode, politeness was a form of behaviour of use to the traditional landed elites of the aristocracy and gentry, as well as prosperous groups of merchants, bankers and industrialists, and members of the emergent professional classes, including physicians, lawyers, army and navy officers, and civil servants.[11] In addition, it is argued that many members of the lower middling sorts, including shopkeepers, farmers, country curates, book-sellers and inn-keepers, would have aspired to be considered 'polite' and to participate in 'polite' cultural entertainments.[12] Accordingly, politeness was a form of behaviour with various social uses for a wide range of social actors.[13]

Women also featured as prominent members of polite society. This was because their presence was considered essential for encouraging sociability and tempering more disagreeable characteristics of male discussion.[14] However, women were not just passive participants in elite society. Rather, they assumed important positions of authority in the organisation of activities enacted within polite social settings.[15] Afforded this prominence in elite society it has been shown that women used politeness to achieve their own ends. Illustrating this, Elaine Chalus argues that

[10] J. Brewer, 'The Most Polite Age and the Most Vicious: Attitudes towards Culture as a Commodity 1600-1800', in A. Bermingham & J. Brewer (eds), *The Consumption of Culture 1600-1800* (London & New York, 1995), p. 348.

[11] Klein, 'Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century', p. 873; C. Saumerez Smith, *Eighteenth-Century Decoration: Design and the Domestic Interior in England* (London, 1993), p. 45; Snodin & Styles, *Design and the Decorative Arts*, p. 180; P. Corfield, *Power and the Professions in Britain 1700-1850* (London & New York, 1995); P. Langford, 'The Uses of Eighteenth-Century Politeness', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, 12 (2002), p. 318; A. Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven & London, 1998), pp. 23, 196; P. Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society, and Family Life in London 1660-1730* (New Haven and Los Angeles, 1989), pp. 5-9.

[12] Langford, 'The Uses of Eighteenth-Century Politeness', pp. 318-22; Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class*, pp. 1-5; L. Klein, 'Politeness for Plebs: Some Social Identities in Early Eighteenth-Century England' in Bermingham and Brewer (eds), *The Consumption of Culture*, p. 364.

[13] Klein, 'Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century', p. 873.

[14] S. Tomaselli, 'The Enlightenment Debate on Women', *History Workshop Journal*, 20: 1 (1985), pp. 101-124; M. Cohen, '"Manners" Make the Man: Politeness, Chivalry and the Construction of Masculinity 1750-1830, *Journal of British Studies*, 44: 2 (2005), p. 313.

[15] K. Glover, *Elite Women and Polite Society in Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (Woodbridge, 2011), p. 4.

by embracing politeness women were able to participate in masculine activities, such as politics, from which they were usually debarred.[16]

In recent years politeness has been employed by scholars as an analytical category to investigate the display, regulation and representation of the body in elite culture. This research has developed along three main lines of inquiry. The first has sought to investigate the social and behavioural aspects of politeness as it was manifested in the presentation and regulation of the body. This scholarship owes a significant debt to Norbert Elias. Through analysis of a range of courtly conduct literature Elias showed that in Europe from the late medieval period through to the nineteenth century, individuals increasingly denied their natural bodily impulses in the name of civility and for the purposes of state formation.[17] More recently this subject has been taken up by Anna Bryson. Although assuming Elias' model in a general sense, Bryson critiques his idea of a linear development in terms of the regulation of the body over several centuries. In opposition, she proposes that the actions of the body in the early modern period were regulated in particular ways in distinctive social settings for specific social purposes.[18]

The embodied display of politeness has been most thoroughly excavated by historians in relation to the experiences of women. This is because it has been shown that bodily regulation and the correct display of embodied comportment was socially facilitating for women at this time.[19] Ingrid Tague has identified this situation in the ways that women's natural characteristics were presented in conduct literature. She suggests that the behavioural models of femininity outlined in these works caused women to become aware that their adherence to these modes of behaviour was imperative for securing their position within polite society.[20] Brigitte Glaser proposes that this was the same reason why eighteenth-century educational treatises for girls

[16] E. Chalus, 'Elite Women, Social Politics, and the Political World of Late Eighteenth-Century England', *The Historical Journal*, 43: 3 (2002), pp. 669-97.
[17] N. Elias, *The Civilisng Process: The History of Manners and State Formation and Civilisation* (Oxford, 1994). *Über den Prozess der Zivilisation* was first published in 1939. It was translated by Edmund Jephcott as *The Civilising Process* and published in two books in 1978 and 1982.
[18] A. Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 96-103.
[19] L. Klein, 'Gender, Conversation and the Public Sphere in Early Eighteenth-Century England', in J. Still & M. Worton (eds), *Textuality and Sexuality: Reading Theories and Practices* (Manchester, 1993), p. 108.
[20] I. Tague, *Women of Quality: Accepting and Contesting Ideals of Femininity in England 1690-1760* (Woodbridge, 2002), p. 22.

placed much more emphasis on the education of the body than those aimed at boys, which primarily focused on the cultivation of the mind.[21]

Other historians have looked at how the display of embodied manners changed over the course of the century. Michael Curtin and Philip Carter propose that in courtesy texts which set forth the idealised qualities that a man or woman must possess in terms of their interests, social activities, education and conduct, morals and manners were presented as being mutually reinforcing.[22] However, from the 1760s the courtesy genre fell into gradual decline. Some scholars argue that this was due to a 'sentimental revolution' which transpired because contemporaries increasingly found 'politeness' a hollow and routinized system of manners devoid of any real moral value.[23] Others suggest that the decline of the courtesy genre, and the models of politeness it presented, was brought about by alterations in cultural notions of masculinity and femininity. John Tosh argues that 'politeness' became increasingly irrelevant for men in the late eighteenth century as a result of the changing 'core values' of national masculinity.[24] Similarly, Marjorie Morgan observes that courtesy books for women published after 1770 were much more concerned with women's moral virtues than their external manners, indicating changing notions of femininity.[25]

Another strand of scholarship concerning the relationship between the body and politeness examines clothes and decorations worn upon the body. In her analysis of eighteenth-century clothing, Aileen Ribeiro explicitly links fashions for particular sorts of clothing with aspects of politeness. Adding a corporeal dimension to her research she proposes that it was considered equally essential to 'achieve the correct shape in figure, accentuated with carefully chosen clothes and accessories'.[26] The abridgement between the corporeal and material display of politeness has likewise

[21] B. Glaser, 'Gendered Childhood's: On the Discursive Formation of Young Females in the Eighteenth Century', in A. Müller (ed.), *Fashioning Childhood in the Eighteenth Century: Age and Identity* (Burlington, 2006), pp. 189-198.
[22] P. Curtin, 'A Question of Manners, Status and Gender in Etiquette and Courtesy', *Journal of Modern History*, 57, 3 (1985), p. 405; P. Carter, 'Polite "Persons": Character, Biography and the Gentleman', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, 12 (2002), p. 355.
[23] P. Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People, England 1727-1783* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 462-467; Curtin, 'A Question of Manners', pp. 395-425.
[24] J. Tosh, 'Gentlemanly Politeness and Manly Simplicity in Victorian England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, 12 (2002), pp. 455-472.
[25] M. Morgan, *Manners, Morals and Class in England 1774-1858* (New York, 1994), p. 10.
[26] A. Ribeiro*, Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (New Haven & London, 2002), p. 171.

been highlighted in scholarship concerning hair and wigs. Marcia Pointon argues that recognition of the symbolic power of the body is essential for understanding the significance of the wig as a signifier of masculine authority. She asserts that 'the wig's prevalence as a major item for male attire for over a hundred years' must be understood 'within the context of self-enactment that served to define masculinity politically and culturally.'[27]

Historians have also examined the use of cosmetics in elite society and how they were used to display socially facilitating forms of identity information. In her recent work on beauty and cosmetics Riberio argues that the use of these products enabled women to demonstrate their knowledge of fashion and to display beauty, which allowed them to empower themselves socially.[28] Conversely, Tassie Gwilliam shows that women's use of cosmetics was often viewed with suspicion by men because of the way these products were believed to allow women to construct their own identities.[29] Material products, such as clothing, wigs and cosmetics, have thus been shown to have been used to extend the symbolic power vested in particular parts of the body in elite culture.

A final strand of investigation concerning the relationship between the body and politeness looks at representations of the body in a range of discursive and visual artefacts. Some scholars have used this approach to examine the limitations and paradoxes of politeness. This is illustrated in Vic Gatrell's study of satirical imagery. His analysis shows that far from seeking to distance themselves from the body's more vulgar natural functions, the elite revelled in things like bum and fart humour.[30] Likewise, Karen Harvey has tackled the tricky issue of the relationship between sexuality and 'politeness' through an examination of the representations of the body in a range of erotic texts. She argues that by cloaking erotic descriptions of the body in complex botanical metaphors, the authors of these works created a decorous distance between the reader and the text. This, she proposes, allowed readers seemingly to

[27] M. Pointon, 'The Case of the Dirty Beau: Symmetry, Disorder, and the Politics of Masculinity', in K. Alder & M. Pointon (eds), *The Body Imaged: The Human Form and Visual Culture Since the Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 188.
[28] A. Ribeiro, *Facing Beauty: Painted Women and Cosmetic Art* (New Haven & London, 2011), p. 140.
[29] T. Gwilliam, 'Cosmetic Poetics: Colouring Faces in the Eighteenth Century', in V. Kelly & D. Meucke (eds), *Body and Text in the Eighteenth Century* (Stanford, 1994), p. 144.
[30] V. Gatrell, *City of Laughter: Sex and Satire in Eighteenth-Century London* (London, 2006), pp. 178-209.

champion the emphasis which politeness placed on behavioural self-control, while at the same time enjoying the sexual gratification that these texts offered.[31] Consequently, it has been demonstrated that politeness did not purge the body's natural functions and impolite actions from elite culture, but rather mutated how they were presented in a variety of cultural forms.

The Body and Social Difference

The last thirty years has witnessed a substantive rise in historical interest in the body. Body-based research owes its genesis to Bryan Turner who, in *The Body and Society* (1984), explicitly presented the body as a subject of analysis for social scientists. Turner opened his work with the assertion: 'There is an obvious and prominent fact about human beings: they have bodies and they are bodies'.[32] Despite this 'obvious fact', Turner observed that few social theorists had previously investigated, or taken seriously, issues concerning embodiment or the body's role in forms of social interaction.[33] In Turner's opinion this was a serious oversight because he argued that the body plays a central role in all forms of social interaction as it is the basis of all human action. Through his work Turner thus formulated a new agenda for social science, with the body as an essential theoretical and methodological problem at its centre.

As many recognised the value in Turner's assertions, the body quickly became a subject of interest for scholars working on an assortment of disparate areas of history. This is brought into focus in one of the first collected editions on the subject of the body: Micheal Feher, Romona Naddaff and Nadi Tazi's *Fragments for a History of the Human Body* (1989). This substantial work, consisting of forty-eight papers written by a variety of European scholars, presented a range of approaches for examining how the body has been conceptualised and treated in different cultures at different times. While several contributors spoke about the body as a biological or physical entity, others presented it as a boundary or source of definition in a discursive, linguistic or

[31] K. Harvey, *Reading Sex in the Eighteenth Century: Bodies and Gender in English Erotic Culture* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 1-2.
[32] B. Turner, *The Body and Society: Explorations in Social Theory* (London, 1984), p. 1.
[33] Ibid, pp. 60-63.

metaphorical sense.[34] Although in some cases the body was conceptualised as an object, in others it was presented as an agent for social action or resistance. Authors who contributed also addressed different sorts of bodies, including those that were live, dead, 'heavenly', 'divine' and 'ghostly', distinguished by their 'gender', 'race' or 'class', and branded as 'diseased', 'beautiful', 'monstrous', or 'ugly.' Conversely, some chose not to examine the body as a whole, but rather focused on one of its different parts: stomach, bowels, face, breasts and feet. This collected edition consequently evidenced that the body could usefully be examined in a vast variety of different ways, and since its publication body scholarship has diversified in a plethora of directions.

Despite the diversity of research that has been conducted under the banner of 'the body', within eighteenth-century body scholarship some general dominating trends and themes of investigation have emerged. To start with, a vast quantity of research on the 'body' has been concerned with issues relating to 'sex' and 'gender'.[35] This situation has occurred as many scholars have encountered the body through Thomas Laqueur's seminal *Making Sex* (1990). In this work Laqueur charts the transition from a 'one-sex' to a 'two-sex' understanding of the body in the eighteenth century. He proposes that for hundreds of years male and female bodies were understood as variants of one singular model of the body, where sexual distinctions were imagined only as differences of degree. This situation, he argues, is most clearly illustrated in the way female sexual organs were considered inverted versions of the male.[36] Laqueur proposes that this conception of the body enabled flexibility in the cultural construction of gender. He attests that at this time: 'sex or the body was the epiphenomenon, while gender, what we would take to be a cultural category, primary or real.'[37]

However, it was during the eighteenth century, Laqueur asserts, that the 'two-sex' model of sexual difference achieved hegemony. Increasingly men and women were organised along a horizontal axis which emphasised the anatomical differences between them. In this understanding, sexual difference was not of degree, but rather

[34] I. Culianu, 'A Corpus for the Body', *The Journal of Modern History*, 63:1 (1991), p. 61.
[35] C. Bynum, 'Why all the Fuss about the Body? A Medievalist's Perspective', *Critical Inquiry*, 22 (1995), p. 5.
[36] Laqueur, *Making Sex*, p. 4.
[37] Ibid, p. 8.

fundamental and grounded in nature. Correspondingly, perceived differences in the reproductive organs became the foundation for understandings of sexual difference.[38] Laqueur proposes that these understandings, derived from changing medical and scientific views about the body, provided the basis for new ideas about gender difference which coagulated cultural disparities between the societal roles of men and women. Summarising the shift, one commentator notes: 'Gender, the behaviour and cultural attributes of masculinity and femininity collapsed into sex, that is, into the physicality inscribed in the body of every individual'.[39] The development of the two-sex model thus not only saw the creation of increasingly solidified notions of embodied difference between men and women, but also a radical change in the relationship between the body and gender.

Since its publication some aspects of Laqueur's thesis have been criticised. A particularly important aspect of this critique concerns Laqueur's argument that between 1650 and 1800 there was a clear shift where the 'world of one-sex' gave way to the 'world of two'. Harvey has criticised Laqueur's over-simplified account of this change, emphasising the persistence of a more complex multitude of ideas throughout this period which simultaneously emphasised sameness and difference.[40] For other scholars it is Laqueur's denial of science and medicine as having played a significant role in the inaction of changing views of the body that is problematic.[41]

Laqueur's work has nevertheless stimulated a surge of academic interest in the relationship between the body and gender. One line of this research usefully investigates the parallels between medical representations of the body and cultural notions of gender. Ludmilla Jordanova examines the relationship between gender and the body through investigation of enlightened medical and scientific texts, along with various images and artefacts, that conveyed forms of knowledge about the female body. She shows how the representations of the female body that emerged from

[38] Ibid, p. 149.
[39] D. Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven & London, 2004), p. 44.
[40] K. Harvey, 'The Substance of Sexual Difference: Change and Persistence in Representations of the Body in Eighteenth-Century England', *Gender and History*, 14 (1996), pp. 202-3.
[41] K. Park & R. Nye, 'Destiny is Anatomy, Review of Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud'*, *New Republic* (18th February, 1991), pp. 53-7.

these cultural products reflected contemporary notions of gender.[42] Londa Schiebinger also argues that mid-century representations of male and female skeletons, which emphasised their physical differences, mirrored male desires to justify gender inequalities within the liberal social framework of the Enlightenment.[43]

Laqueur's narrative of sexual difference has also been incorporated into studies of gender. In this mode, gender historians have been able to appropriate Laqueur's account of the body to support their 'separate spheres' theory which, until relatively recently, dominated gender-based research.[44] Illustrating this situation, Ruth Perry argues that in the eighteenth century non-productive forms of female sexuality were displaced by women's re-definition as maternal rather than sexual beings.[45] Likewise, Tim Hitchcock has linked changing ideas about the female body to the way that women were increasingly resigned to the private sphere of the home and domestic 'maternal' tasks such as bearing and nursing children, and the growing importance of men's sexual roles within the family as sexual partners and fathers.[46]

In recent years, emphasis on the relationship between gender and the body has been replaced with a scholarly interest in the connections between the body and sexuality.[47] One commentator has even gone so far as to name the body 'as the subject of the sexual sciences.'[48] Scholars working in this area have sought to examine a much wider variety of embodied themes than were explored in earlier forms of

[42] L. Jordanova, *Sexual Visions: Images of Gender in Science and Medicine between the Eighteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (New York & London, 1989).

[43] L. Schiebinger, 'Skeletons in the Closet: The First Illustrations of the Female Skeleton in Eighteenth-Century Anatomy', *Representations*, 14 (1986), pp. 42-82; Anthony Fletcher makes similar observations in *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England, 1500-1800* (New Haven & London, 1995), p. 83.

[44] A. Vickery, 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres?', *Historical Journal*, 36 (1993), pp. 384.

[45] R. Perry, 'Colonising the Breast: Sexuality and Maternity in Eighteenth-Century England', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 2: 2 (1991), p. 213.

[46] T. Hitchcock, *English Sexualities 1700-1800* (London, 1997), pp. 48-9.

[47] Illustrating this historiographical trend, in an influential series of papers recently published in *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture & Society*, Michael McKeon, Thomas Laqueur, Laura Gowing, Tim Hitchcock and Randolph Trumbach collectively argue that the shift from the 'one sex' to the 'two-sex' model of sexual difference was exigent on changing notions of acceptable sexual behaviour. M. McKeon, 'The Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Sexuality Hypothesis', *Signs*, 37:4 (2012), pp. 791-801; T. Laqueur, 'The Rise of Sex in the Eighteenth Century: Historical Context and Historiographical Implications', *Signs*, 37:4 (2012), pp. 802-813; L. Gowing, 'Women's Bodies and the Making of Sex in Seventeenth-Century England', *Signs*, 37:4 (2012), pp. 813-822; T. Hitchcock, 'The Reformulation of Sexual Knowledge in Eighteenth-Century England', *Signs,* 37:4 (2012), pp. 823-832; R. Trumbach, 'The Transformation of Sodomy from the Renaissance to the Modern World and its General Sexual Consequences', *Signs*, 37:4 (2012), pp. 832-848. Several other papers included in this edition of *Signs* advance similar arguments.

[48] R. Cleminson, 'Medical Understandings of the Body: 1750 to the Present', in S. Toulalan & K. Fisher (eds), *The Routledge History of Sex and the Body 1500 to the Present* (New York, 2013), p. 76.

gender based body research, including race, clothing, and age. Embracing this situation, *The Routledge History of Sex and the Body* (2013) proposes that it 'wants to draw readers' attention to some new directions in research and analysis' in order to 'take greater account' of other embodied categories of inquiry.[49] This broadening of perspective has been necessitated by the emergence of research which has demonstrated the clear parallels between sexuality and other categories of embodied distinction. In terms of race, Andrew Wells proposes:

> Racial theorizing depended on the investment of meaning in things both located in/on the body and readable by the sense, such as skin colour, skeletal structure, and so on. In a similar fashion, the role of corporeal signifiers in the determination of sex difference was enhanced as their epistemological authority was promoted to the detriment of their non-corporeal parts.[50]

On the other hand, several historians have sought to examine the distinctive aspects of relationships between the body and other categories of social difference. A prominent strand of this investigation examines the connections between the body and race. In his work Nicholas Hudson looks at how differences between people from various parts of the globe went from being seen as cultural forms of distinction, to differences grounded in distinctive forms of corporeality.[51] Felicity Nussbaum and Roxanne Wheeler have examined this situation in reference to the colouration of the skin. In the first three quarters of the century Nussbaum writes that several 'incongruent manifestations of "race"' coexisted in language and culture. She observes that many 'strategic confusions' also continued to persist in discourse, 'regarding the meanings assigned to skin colourings, physiognomies, and nations.'[52] Yet, Wheeler argues that in the closing decades of the century, flexibility in conceptions of national distinction gave way to increasingly solidified associations between certain races and distinctive forms of skin colouration. The development of these views, she argues, was owing to the emergence of 'a newly receptive audience' searching for 'alternative

[49] Toulalan & Fisher (eds), *The Routledge History of Sex and the Body*, pp. 5-6.
[50] A. Wells, 'Confusion Embodied: Epistemologies of Sex and Race in *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* (1748-9) and the *Historie Naturelle*' (1749-1804)', in K. Fisher & S. Toulalan (eds), *Bodies, Sex and Desire from the Renaissance to the Present* (London, 2011), p. 49.
[51] N. Hudson, '"Nation" to "Race": The Origin of Racial Classification in Eighteenth-Century Thought', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 29:3 (1996), pp. 247-264.
[52] F. Nussbaum, *The Limits of the Human: Fictions of Anomaly, Race, and Gender in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 136.

theories that accounted for human variety'.[53] This research shows that, just as in the case of gender, contemporaries in the closing decades of the century sought to confirm certain types of social distinction by emphasising 'natural' forms of embodied difference.

The meanings and associations attached to other sorts of socially demarcated bodies have also received attention in recent scholarship. Illustrating this, Roy Porter explores how class based distinctions were believed to be marked upon the body. He argues that in the eighteenth century the 'body beautiful' was indexed on the higher classes. Porter adds that prescriptions for beauty among the elite were about preserving their social superiority over the lower ranks, whose bodies were presented as vile, ugly, deformed, crippled and disordered.[54] Comparably, Laura Gowing examines how visual imagery and fiction presented the poor as shorter, uglier and more grotesque than the elite and how these forms of corporeality were identified as products of moral corruption.[55] Furthermore, while David Turner has explored the meanings attached to bodies that were identified as being 'disabled' or 'deformed', other scholars have looked at perceptions of the ageing body and how ageing was experienced by contemporaries.[56] Therefore, whilst eighteenth-century body scholarship has largely been concerned with issues relating to sex and gender, recent years have witnessed the growth of historical interest in a wider variety of embodied themes pertaining to how different bodies were perceived in daily life.

Theoretical Considerations and Methods

Although the body has become an important subject of analysis for historians working on many disparate areas of history, defining 'what the body is' and how it should be examined remains a topic of debate. This is because the body represents a complex and slippery theoretical entity. Indeed, at a basic level, it is recognised that the experiences grounded in different forms of corporeality may be incomparable as no

[53] R. Wheeler, *The Complexions of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture* (Philadelphia, 2000), p. 37.
[54] R. Porter, *Bodies Politic: Disease, Death and the Doctors in Britain, 1650-1900* (London, 2001), p. 72.
[55] L. Gowing, 'Marked Bodies and Social Meanings' in C. Reeves (ed.), *A Cultural History of the Body: The Enlightenment* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 133-153.
[56] D. Turner, *Disability in Eighteenth-Century England* (New York, 2012); H. Yallop, *Age and Identity in Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 2013).

two bodies are the same, no one body is fixed for all time, and the associations attached to distinctive sorts of embodiment are highly variable.[57] The pluralistic nature of the body is reflected in the many different ways the body can be theoretically conceptualised. Turner writes:

> The body is a material organism, but also a metaphor; it is a trunk apart from head and limbs, but also the person (as in 'anybody' and 'somebody'). The body may also be an aggregate of bodies, often with legal personality as in 'corporation' or in 'the mystical body of Christ'. Such aggregate bodies may be regarded as legal fictions or as social facts which exist independently of the 'real' bodies which happen to constitute them…The body is at once the most solid, the most elusive, illusory, concrete, metaphorical, ever present and ever distant thing – a site, an instrument, an environment, a singularity and a multiplicity.[58]

The body must thus be understood to represent a highly complex, almost boundless, conceptual entity. In this light, any theoretical understanding of the body demands appreciation of its inherent theoretical 'openness' and multiplicity.

The theoretical openness of 'the body' has meant that scholars have found it difficult to define 'what the body is' when examining it as a subject of empirical research. Caroline Bynum states:

> Despite the enthusiasm for the topic, discussions of the body are almost completely incommensurate…There is no clear set of structures, behaviours, events, objects, experiences, words and movements to which the body currently refers. Sometimes *body*, *my body*, or *embodiedness* seems to refer to limit or placement, whether biological or social, and other times it refers to lack of limits.

She adds: 'Such discussions, have, in their details, almost nothing to do with one another.'[59] Likewise, Kathleen Canning proposes that even within individual pieces of research: 'Slippage commonly occurs between individual bodies as sites of experience/agency/resistance and social bodies formed discursively or between bodies as sites of inscription/intervention'. She notes that this often makes it 'difficult to discern how these different bodies are contingent and constitutive to one

[57] M. Fraser & M. Greco, *The Body: A Reader* (London, 2005), p. 3.
[58] Turner, *The Body and Society,* pp. 42-3.
[59] C. Bynum, 'Why all the Fuss about the Body? A Medievalist's Perspective', *Critical Inquiry*, 22 (1995), p. 5.

another'.[60] Consequently, whilst the body has become a prominent and fashionable area of research in the last thirty years, no clear definition of 'the body', or how we should address this entity as a subject of empirical analysis, has emerged from this scholarship. This has caused accounting for 'what the body is' to become a tricky methodological issue for scholars.[61]

As the body is an entity that defies any clearly identifiable theoretical conceptualisation, it appears that the issue for researchers needs to become: how can we take hold of this 'entity' and investigate it as a category of empirical research? Thomas Osborne has proposed a useful solution to this problem. He ventures that it might be useful for scholars not to seek a representation of 'what the body is', but instead to identify the ways that the body is a problem in the positive sense, as vehicle for thought and action.[62] Osborne thus invites us to examine the questions that a particular sort of 'body' poses and to tailor our theoretical and methodological approaches accordingly. This approach is considered of use as it encourages scholars to 'reflect on what different theoretical formulations do' and the specific tasks they accomplish in relation to the particular sort of 'body' they wish to examine.[63]

This methodological solution appears to have particular value when applied to the examination of the body in different historical contexts. This is because Bynum demonstrates that the questions which historically situated individuals asked when confronting the question of 'what the body is' were not the same as our own. Moreover, Bynum argues that any attempt to examine past debates through a contemporary prism is dangerous. By way of example, she illustrates that current historical analyses of the body in the Middle Ages have generally shared a characterisation of earlier Western history as essentially dualist, in the sense that the flesh was despised and the mind venerated. This understanding is flawed, Bynum argues, because 'medieval thinkers' did not adhere to any single concept of 'the body' any more than we do. 'Like the modern world', she continues, 'the Middle Ages was

[60] K. Canning, 'The Body as Method: Reflection on the Place of the Body in Gender History', *Gender and History,* 11 (1999), p. 120.
[61] R. Porter, 'History of the Body Reconsidered', in P. Burke (ed.), *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, 2nd edition (Pennsylvania, 2001), pp. 252-53.
[62] T. Osborne, 'Body Amensia: Comments on Corporeality', in D. Owen (ed.), *Sociology after Postmodernism* (London, 1996), p. 186.
[63] Fraser & Greco, *The Body*, p. 3.

characterised by a cacophony of discourses.'[64] Bynum therefore encourages scholars not to examine 'what the body was' in the past, but to pursue the way contemporaries posed the question of 'what the body is' to ensure that the plurality of the body's interpretations in different historical contexts remain open to investigation.

Many scholars have also identified the lack of empirical focus on the 'lived body' in historical scholarship as a problem. Shilling notes that while the body is often named as the subject of investigation, it has frequently been left un-investigated in empirical terms as scholars have instead tended to focus on the way systems of knowledge about the body were 'constructed' or 'manifested.'[65] Bynum also proposes that in contemporary scholarship 'the body' more commonly refers to speech acts or discourses that are involved in the body's construction for social, economic or political purposes, rather than anything that can tangibly be identified as the body or 'embodied'.[66] Thomas Csordas shares similar concerns and states:

> Textuality has become, if you will, a hungry metaphor swallowing all of culture to the point where it becomes possible and even convincing to hear the deconstructionist motto that there is nothing outside of the text. It has to come to the point where the text metaphor has virtually…gobbled up the body itself …I would go so far as to assert that for many contemporary scholars the text metaphor has ceased to be a metaphor at all, and it taken quite literally.[67]

In order to provide a clearer agenda for body scholarship, it has consequently been proposed that researchers need to focus more attention on the experiences of the lived body.[68]

To explain what is meant by the 'lived body' it might be useful to imagine it, in a theoretical sense, in reference to the way the body is presented by Mary Douglas and Judith Butler. Douglas contends that what appears 'natural' in terms of the body across cultures is not a singular physio-biological body, but rather a common principle of interaction between two bodies: the physio-biological or 'individual body' and the 'social body'. The 'individual body', in this understanding, is conceptualised as an

[64] Bynum, 'Why all the Fuss About the Body', p. 6.
[65] C. Shilling, *The Body and Social Theory* (London, 1993), p. 71.
[66] Bynum, 'Why all the Fuss About the Body', p. 5.
[67] T. Csordas, 'Embodiment and Cultural Phenomenology', in G. Weiss & F. Haber (eds), *Perspectives on Embodiment: The Intersections of Nature and Culture* (New York, 1999), pp. 145-6.
[68] A. Frank, 'For a Sociology of the Body: An Analytical Review', in M. Featherstone, M. Hepworth and B. Turner (eds), *The Body: Social Process and Cultural Theory* (London, 1991), pp. 47-48.

entity which is never fully perceived, but rather experienced through the mediation of cultural categories. Douglas proposes:

> The social body constrains the way in which the physical body is perceived. The physical experience of the body, always modified by the social categories through which it is known, sustains a particular view of society. There is a continual exchange of meanings between the two kinds of bodily experience so that each reinforces the categories of the other.[69]

How the social body and individual body interact in terms of everyday lived experience is usefully elucidated by Butler. Butler presents the encounter between the social body and individual body as something that is negotiated through lived experience and performance. She argues that the body is something we become through living with it, which is also repeatedly produced over time through the performances which bring it into being.[70] Butler adds that these performances are informed both by what the subject names as itself, and the regulatory norms of society which prescribe aspects of the individual's embodied performance.[71] In this theoretical light, the lived body is understood as an entity through which individuals experience the world and mediate between the 'self' and society.

More recently Christopher Forth and Ivan Crozier have devised another approach that might be usefully employed to empirically investigate the lived body. Formulating their method they highlight the problem, discussed above, concerning the confusion surrounding the issue of 'what the body is'. They ask: 'what do scholars actually mean when they speak about the body? Do they mean all of it? Usually not.'[72] They continue: 'If the body remains somewhat opaque to contemporary scholars, perhaps it is because one rarely arrives at an image of the corporeal whole, without first assessing the state of the parts.'[73] They thus argue that more analysis of the specific parts of the body is essential for understanding how the whole body is perceived. Forth and Crozier accordingly propose that examination of the different parts of the body may enable us to find a clearer definition of the whole.

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[69] M. Douglas, *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology* (Harmondsworth, 1970), p. 93.
[70] J. Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of 'Sex'* (New York, 1993), p. 13.
[71] Ibid.
[72] C. Forth & I. Crozier, *Body Parts: Critical Explorations in Corporeality* (Oxford, 2005), p. 2.
[73] Ibid, p. 3.

Aims and Objectives

This thesis explores the cultural meanings attached to the visible appearance of the body and its parts in eighteenth-century understanding. It also examines what different aspects of embodied appearance were thought to suggest about features of an individual's character and social identity. In addition, this research addresses two issues concerning the body and its display in the eighteenth century borne out of recent historiography. Firstly, it questions the extent to which the cultural associations attached to parts of the visible body reflected the 'polite' social values of the elite. Secondly, it explores how the changing relationship between the body and identity altered the social meanings attached to the body's parts and how parts of the visible body functioned as signifiers of identity. By addressing these aims, the present inquiry will evidence a multitude of different meanings and associations that were attached to the visible body in popular eighteenth-century understanding which have yet to be examined by historians.

To offer fresh perspectives to historical research concerned with embodied display in 'polite society', this thesis places examination of the body, and the meanings associated with its physical appearance, at the centre of its research agenda. This approach stands in contrast to earlier investigations of the relationship between politeness and embodied display which have often encountered the body indirectly through other aspects of elite culture. By inverting the perspective and investigating what the associations attached to the visible body in elite culture reveal about politeness, the present research will detail how politeness was thought to be corporeally displayed. It will also evidence how 'polite' social mores informed changing cultural understandings of the body.

This thesis also endeavours to supply original insights to eighteenth-century research relating to the body and the construction of categories of social difference. It seeks to move beyond this research by rejecting the method most historians working in this field employ; namely, of looking at the body through specific categories of social difference such as gender, sex and race. This is because this approach has been found to privilege certain aspects of the body's history over others, and to have obscured the distinctive history of the 'lived body'. By focusing on the body and its component parts, and examining how social difference was constructed in relation to the cultural

associations attached to corporeality, this investigation will show that there was a multitude of different identity meanings inscribed on distinctive parts of the corporeal form which together informed how an individual's identity was perceived.

Reflecting these objectives, in this research the body will be scrutinised through investigation of the meanings attached to its parts. This approach is considered appropriate for several reasons. Firstly, it will enable the parts of the body to be used as analytical categories through which the meanings attached to the body as a whole can be examined. This will offer new insights into how parts of the body were perceived in relation to various aspects of identity. Secondly, this approach offers a means by which the ideas about the body presented in different genres of popular print can be grouped, compared and contrasted. That is, this method facilitates analysis of the origin, transferral and dissemination of the ideas about the body that were presented in popular literature. Lastly, this method is considered an appropriate mode of analysis as discursive dismemberment is identified as a method which contemporary authors themselves employed to explore how bodies worked and what they meant. Discursive dismemberment is therefore considered to represent a methodologically useful and historically reflective mode of empirically investigating the different meanings attached to the body in eighteenth-century culture.

Introduction to the Sources

During the eighteenth century, Porter writes, 'Britain found itself awash with print.'[74] Amongst these printed materials were a range of popular texts which conveyed information to readers about how the body worked, what the appearance of the body meant, and how the body could be used to convey information about a person's identity. Texts of this sort include the conduct literature, popular medical advice books, midwifery manuals and advice handbooks that will be examined in this thesis. The present analysis will also make use of a variety of other printed texts that shaped discussions concerning the body in popular literature. This accompanying source set includes professional anatomical, medical and scientific texts, books associated with

[74] R. Porter, *The Enlightenment* (Basingstoke, 2001), p. 479.

the Enlightenment (including dictionaries and encyclopaedia), satirical literature and popular journals.

It is important to explain why this diverse range of printed texts, many of which have already been thoroughly excavated by historians, has been selected for this analysis of the body. As a starting point, investigation of these texts is considered appropriate as the emergence of a vibrant uncensored print culture in the eighteenth century was a channel through which issues concerning the body and embodied identity were brought to a literate populous.[75] As these books were primarily written and published for commercial gain they shared a particularly close relationship with their audience. Mary Fissell argues that at this time popular books and bodies 'existed in a kind of reciprocal relationship', insofar as they offered 'ideas that were congruent with their reader's expectations and beliefs' and, whether being 'consumed directly or indirectly', informed popular ideas about the body.[76]

This research makes use of 'popular' printed books that were written in English and aimed at a broad lay readership. The majority of books that are investigated here are identified as 'popular' texts because they were published in many different editions over the course of the eighteenth century. This qualification is considered significant because the publication of numerous editions of a single work suggests that there was contemporary demand for the text and that it was widely distributed.[77] Most of the books that are examined fall within the parameters Ian Green uses to define 'steady sellers', titles that were printed at least five times in a thirty year period, and 'best sellers', works which passed through at least one edition annually for more than ten or more years.[78] Richard Sher similarly defines 'good sellers' as books which were issued in between four and six editions.[79] The bulk of texts included in the source set also fall into this classification. Works that are identified as 'steady sellers'

[75] L. Gowing, *Common Bodies: Women, Touch and Power in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven & London, 2003), p. 17.
[76] M. Fissell, 'Making a Masterpiece: The Aristotle Texts in Vernacular Medical Culture', in C. Rosenberg (ed.), *Right Living: An Anglo-American Tradition of Self-Help and Hygiene* (London & Baltimore, 2003), p. 60.
[77] This method of measuring book popularity is used by Richard Sher in *The Enlightenment and the Book*: *Scottish Authors and their Publishers in Eighteenth-Century Britain, Ireland and America* (Chicago & London, 2006), p. 88.
[78] I. Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 173-175.
[79] Sher, *The Enlightenment and the Book*, p. 91.

or 'good sellers' include Bernard Mandeville's *The Virgin Un-Mask'd* (1709) and Nicholas Culpeper's *A Directory for Midwives* (1651), while included in the category of 'best sellers' are *Aristotle's Masterpiece* (1684) and William Buchan's *Domestic Medicine* (1769). A smaller portion of texts constitute what Sher has classified as 'modest sellers'.[80] That is, books that appeared in only two or three British editions, such as *The Young Gentleman and Lady Instructed in Such Principles of Politeness, Prudence and Virtue* (1747) and John Cook's, *An Anatomical and Mechanical Essay on the Whole Animal Oeconomy* (1730). Further information about the number of published editions of individual works is provided in the appendix.[81]

A few texts which only appeared in a single British edition have also been included in the sources. Although it is difficult to argue that such works were 'popular', as Sher notes that these books never enjoyed widespread popularity or generated any profit for their publishers, several of these books will be investigated in this thesis for a number of reasons.[82] Firstly, certain texts have been included in the source set because they enable investigation of key changes in different genres over time. In this vein, *A Letter to A Lady* (1749) has been selected for analysis despite being published in a single edition and being relatively rare, because it was one of the first conduct books to cite anatomical distinction as a principle that differentiated the two sexes. In the second instance, single edition texts will be analysed because of their identified influence on other authors and texts. This situation is particularly true of texts translated into English from other European languages. For example, although Nicholas Andry's *Orthopaedia* (1743) only appeared in a single English edition after being translated from French, it was liberally plagiarised in the anonymous *The Art of Preserving Beauty* (1789) and was drawn upon heavily by William Smellie in his *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1768-1771).[83] Thirdly, several single edition books have been included in the source set because they are recognised to have emerged as a

[80] Ibid, p. 88. On p. 91 Sher notes that although most 'modest sellers' did not enjoy widespread popularity they would have generated some profit for their publishers, especially if they reached three editions.

[81] This information has been collated with the assistance of the *English Short Title Catalogue* (ESTC), *Early English Books Online* (EBBO) and *Eighteenth-Century Collections Online* (ECCO).

[82] Sher, *The Enlightenment and the Book*, p. 91.

[83] In the case of single edition texts, the reason for their inclusion in the source set will be justified in each case in the appendix. The appendix also provides information about the exchange of ideas, debates and arguments between individual works, and instances of plagiarism.

result of a demand for a particular genre of text at a specific historical moment. Hairdressing manuals, which appeared due to the growing fashion for elaborate female hairstyles between 1770 and 1790, including David Ritchie's *A Treatise on the Hair* (1770) and James Stewart's *Plocacosmos: or, The Whole Art of Hairdressing* (1782), are good examples of this sort of text.

The identification of these texts as 'popular' works is also founded upon their analysis as material artefacts. The vast majority of texts in the source set appeared in octavo (8vo) or duodecimo (12o) formats. Most works also counted between 50 and 200 pages in length, and if texts exceeded this size they were generally divided into separate volumes. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, for instance, was first published in Edinburgh in one hundred weekly instalments. In effect this means that most of the works that are examined here were around pocket size, or slightly larger, meaning they could be easily consulted, moved and passed around. In terms of their price, popular books generally cost around one shilling, although prices did generally go up in line with inflation over the course of the century. The pricing of these works is of consequence as it means that most would have been affordable to the better-off middling sorts.[84] Nevertheless, it is important to keep in mind that most of these books were not specifically targeted at this audience. Instead, they were chiefly aimed at the urban elite who, by the previously mentioned measure, could have easily afforded these texts. Information about the book format and price of individual works is, where available, provided in the appendix.[85]

Even with these caveats in place, it is recognised that the use of this diverse and un-wieldy set of source material deserves explanation. Accordingly, the different book genres that will be examined in this research are clearly defined and a brief history of their development is provided. The first set of source material that will be examined consists of a wide variety of texts that are sometimes brought under the umbrella terms of 'courtesy' or 'conduct'. These were non-fictional works which provided advice on the cultivation of manners, behaviour, education and conduct.

[84] In 1696 Gregory King estimated that 'persons in liberal arts and scientists' commanded an approximate annual income of £60, while shopkeepers were likely to earn around £45 a year. G. Chalmers (ed.), *Natural and Political Observations and Conclusions upon the State and Condition of England, 1696, by Gregory King* (London, 1810), pp. 48-9.

[85] This information has been compiled with the help of ECCO.

Books of this sort laid out the norms which regulated aspects of bodily deportment and social action, and presented comprehensive models of the idealised polite 'gentleman' or 'lady'. They were also usually aimed at adolescent readers, being intended to accompany other aspects of their education. These sources have been identified with the help of the *English Short Title Catalogue* and *A New and Correct Catalogue of all the English Books that have been printed from the Year 1700* (1767).

Courtesy books published between 1650 and 1710 were mainly written by men but were aimed at both male and female readers. The majority of these works fused religious instruction, concerning the cultivation of inner moral virtues, with discussion of the external manners that men and women needed to possess to conduct themselves in ways that befitted their genteel status. Key works from this period include Richard Allestree's *The Ladies Calling* (1677) and *The Gentleman's Calling* (1682), and the Marquess of Halifax's *The Ladies New Year Gift; or, Advice to a Daughter* (1688).[86]

Works published between 1710 and 1770 contained less prominent religious elements than earlier texts and were much more concerned with aspects of external manners and social behaviour. Books upon female conduct that were published between 1710 and 1740 also evidence changing masculine conceptions of female nature. This was because they increasingly endorsed virtuous versions of femininity, identifying it as a vehicle for social improvement.[87] This shift was due to the emergence of the idea that female presence within the public sphere tempered more unsociable forms of male behaviour.[88] John Essex's *Young Ladies Conduct* (1722) and Wetenthall Wilkes' *Letter of Genteel and Moral Advice* (1740), count among the works that illustrate this shift. After the 1740s, however, conduct books written for women primarily presented sentimental and idealised versions of inherent female 'nature', and identified the display of certain 'female' characteristics as essential measures of

[86] Fenella Childs has also shown that these early conduct works influenced many later texts. She demonstrates, for instance, that Allestree's *The Ladies Calling* was the source for at least another eight conduct books published between 1684 and 1753. F. Childs, 'Prescriptions for Manners in Eighteenth-Century Courtesy Literature', DPhil thesis, University of Oxford (1984), p. 267.
[87] P. Morris, *Conduct Literature for Women, 1720-1770* (London, 2004), p. xxvi.
[88] Cohen, '"Manners" Make the Man', p. 313.

femininity. This is evidenced in books like James Fordyce's *Sermons to Young Women* (1766).[89]

The majority of conduct books published between 1770 and 1790 were aimed at women. Both male and female authors wrote books on the subject of female conduct during this period. These texts generally promoted sentimental views of femininity, emphasising women's 'natural' timidity and virtuosity. The authors of these books also drew upon new anatomical and medical models of sexual difference to support their assertions concerning aspects of 'proper' feminine behaviour. Views of this type are articulated in books such as John Bennet's *Letters to a Young Lady* and Richard Polwhele's *Discourses on Different Subjects* (1791). Yet, this version of femininity did receive criticism from some female conduct authors, such as Mary Wollstonecraft, who argued that better education was the root to female improvement.[90]

Nevertheless, one of the most popular works of this later period was a male conduct book: Lord Chesterfield's *Letters to his Son* (1774). While a commercial success, *Letters to his Son* was lampooned by many commentators who found Chesterfield's preoccupation with external manners and bodily deportment devoid of moral value.[91] In contrast, other conduct authors promoted new sorts of refined masculinity based on sentimental ideas of benevolence, moral sense and sympathy.[92] This sort of masculinity was championed in books like James Fordyce's *Addresses to Young Men* (1777). Conduct books from the later stages of the eighteenth century are therefore characterised by their contrasting opinions about what represented the ideals of masculinity and femininity.

Advice books are another genre of popular texts that will be examined in this research. Historians have found this genre difficult to define. While Morgan refers to them as 'arts of worldly sources', Klein calls them 'very useful manuals'.[93] In this project they will be simply termed 'advice books'. Sometimes these books were aimed at people of specific occupations, providing them with technical or instructional

[89] Tague, *Women of Quality*, p. 37.
[90] Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (London, 1792).
[91] Samuel Johnson wrote that *Letters to His Son* taught 'the morals of a whore, and the manners of a dancing-master', J. Boswell*, The Life of Samuel Johnson,* vol. 1 (London, 1791), p. 144.
[92] P. Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1660-1800* (New York, 2001), pp. 88-116.
[93] Morgan, *Manners, Morals and Class*, p. 10; Klein, 'Politeness for Plebs', p. 367.

information which they might require in their employment or 'occupation'. This is the case with Thomas Tryon's *The Merchant, Citizen and Countryman's Instructor* (1701). In other cases, these texts purveyed practical information to readers about how they should enact different cultural activities to assume or reinforce a particular sort of social personality.[94] Works detailing the rules of dance by the dancing masters François Nivélon and John Weaver are prime examples of this sort.[95]

For the purposes of this research beauty manuals represent a particularly important sub-genre of these advice books. Texts of this sort outlined what aesthetically pleasing embodied forms should look like and how ugly forms of appearance could be disguised or remedied. The beauty manual traces its origins back to the sixteenth century when many cookery and recipe books began to contain cosmetic recipes. Perhaps the best example of one of these early beauty manuals is Sir Hugh Plat's *Delightes for Ladies, to Adorne their Persons, Tables, Closets, and Distillatories* (1600). Yet, as a distinctive genre the beauty manual only emerged in the mid-seventeenth century with the publication of texts such as *A Rich Closet of Physical Secrets* (1652) and Thomas Jeamson's *Artificall Embellishments or Arts Best Directions How to Preserve Beauty or Procure it* (1665).

Nonetheless, few beauty manuals were published between 1690 and 1750 as the prevailing social idiom of politeness instructed that people should be judged on their actions and behaviour rather than their looks. A new wave of beauty manuals appeared after the 1750s as conduct authors increasingly posited physical beauty as vital concomitant to femininity. Notable texts from this period include Antoine Le Camus' *Abdeker; or, The Art of Preserving Beauty* (1754) and the anonymously written *The Art of Beauty* (1760). Also included in this category are hairdressing manuals such as James Stewart's *Plocacosmos; or, The Whole Art of Hairdressing* (1782) and David Ritchie's *A Treatise on the Hair* (1770).

Popular medical advice books are another genre of books that are examined in this research. These medical works are identified as being 'popular' texts as they were written in English, unlike professional medical works, which were usually written in

[94] Klein, 'Politeness for Plebs', p. 367.
[95] F. Nivelon, *Rudiments of Genteel Behaviour* (London, 1737); J. Weaver, *Anatomical and Mechanical Lectures upon Dancing* (London, 1721).

Latin. Popular medical texts represented an important element of the early modern book market. Using the *English Short Title Catalogue,* Paul Slack has identified 153 medical titles that were published in English in Britain between 1486 and 1604, which ran into some 392 editions in total.[96] Likewise, Sher evidences that of the 360 titles published in Scotland during the eighteenth century, 61 related to medical topics.[97] Contemporary evidence also attests to the high number of popular medical texts being published during this period. In *The Code of Health and Longevity* (1807) John Sinclair identified 211 popular medical advice books of 'note and merit' published in the period between 1700 and 1800.[98]

In his work Slack labels eight different categories of vernacular medical literature: anatomy and surgery, reflections on theory and practice, herbals, plague tracts, other specific diseases, single or specialised remedies, explanatory textbooks and regimes, and collections of remedies.[99] Yet, Ginnie Smith argues that the majority of medical advice books can be divided into two main sub-genres: the 'herbals' and the 'regimens'.[100] The 'herbals', such as Nicholas Culpeper's *Compleat Herbal* (1653), were intended to provide practical medical advice on how to cure specific ailments and diseases, whereas the 'regimens' contained general advice on how bodily health could be maintained.[101] The research here will make use primarily of works that counted among the 'regimens', such as George Cheyne's *An Essay of Health and Long Life* (1724) and James Mackenzie's *The History of Health and the Art of Preserving it* (1758). The regimens tended to be organised around discussion of the Galenic six 'non-naturals': air, food and drink, sleep and wake, exercise and rest, evacuations and obstructions, and the passions of the mind.[102] Around the middle of the century the

[96] P. Slack, 'Mirrors of Health and Treasures of Poor Men: The Uses of the Vernacular Medical Literature of Tudor England' in C. Webster (ed.), *Health, Medicine and Mortality and the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1979), p. 239.
[97] Sher, *The Enlightenment and the Book*, p. 700. This was only 7 less titles than 'history', the most highly represented genre category in the survey.
[98] J. Sinclair, *The Code of Health and Longevity,* four volumes (Edinburgh, 1807).
[99] Slack, 'Mirrors of Health', p. 243.
[100] G. Smith, 'Prescribing the Rules of Health: Self-Help and Medical Advice in the Late Eighteenth Century', in R. Porter (ed.), *Patients and Practitioners* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 249.
[101] Ibid, p. 282.
[102] For further explanation of Galenic medicine see 'Humours, Organs, Blood and the Stomach', chapter 1.

boundaries between the 'herbals' and 'regimens' became blurred as is evidenced in texts such as William Buchan's *Domestic Medicine* (1769).[103]

Midwifery manuals and sex manuals that provided instruction on sex, conception, pregnancy and infant care, constitute another important part of the medical component of the source set. Several of these texts were first published in the seventeenth century. Books from this early period include Culpeper's *Directory for Midwives* (1651) and the anonymous work *Aristotle's Masterpiece* (1684). These texts, written by both men and women, provided frank discussion of male and female anatomy, sex, labour and post-partum and infant care, and were frequently re-published throughout the eighteenth century. Yet, as midwifery became progressively professionalised over the course of the period, debates concerning the use of instruments and the different roles of male and female practitioners began to feature more prominently within midwifery texts. Additionally, midwifery books published in the second half of the century, such as Henry Manning's *A Treatise on Female Diseases* (1771) and Hugh Smith's *Letters to Married Women* (1767), increasingly omitted explicit discussion of sexual anatomy and began to promote new sentimental views of women, infants and childcare.

Alongside popular literature, several other sorts of printed material, including professional scientific and medical texts, influential Enlightenment treatises, dictionaries, satirical works and popular journals, will be considered in this thesis. Among the professional medical texts that are examined are Thomas Gibson's *An Anatomy of Humane Bodies Epitomized* (1682) and John Cook's *An Anatomical and Mechanical Essay on the Whole Animal Oeconomy* (1730). These books have been included in the source set as they aimed to supply readers with practical knowledge of anatomy and as they were written in vernacular language rather than Latin. In addition, texts aimed at professional audiences, such as William Cowper's *The Anatomy Humane Bodies* (1698), have been included in the analysis because they illustrate shifting anatomical ideas about the body and influenced more 'popular' works. Medical dictionaries, such as John Quincy's *Physico-Medicum; or, A New*

[103] C. Lawrence, 'William Buchan: Medicine Laid Open', *Medical History*, 19 (1975), pp. 20-35; C. Rosenberg, 'Medical Text and Social Context: Explaining William Buchan's *Domestic Medicine*', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 57 (1983), pp. 24-42.

Medicinal Dictionary (1722), are also included in this source set as they offer insights into prevailing orthodox medical views of the period.

Several key philosophical texts are also investigated in the course of this project. It is important to qualify that these sources are not being used in an attempt to try and chart changing philosophical ideas about the body. This is because the present research is concerned with popular ideas about how bodies were perceived. Instead, these texts are examined to recover how philosophical discussions about the body informed debates concerning the body's meanings and uses in popular literature. Their inclusion in the analysis is also considered appropriate as they are understood to have been popularly consumed and to have represented an important element of popular print culture.[104] Key examples of this sort are John Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690) and David Hume's *A Treatise of Human Nature* (1739). Also included in this category are texts that cannot be strictly defined as 'philosophical' texts, but which were borne out of the enlightened sentiment of rational inquiry. Texts of this variety include Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary* (1755) and Oliver Goldsmith's *An History of the Earth, and Animated Nature* (1790).

Additionally, a range of texts written by social commentators are examined here to enable analysis of the way embodied appearances were perceived in daily life. The sources included in this category have been chosen because they were the most popular and widely read. Joseph Addison and Richard Steele's tri-weekly journals *The Tatler* (1709-11) and *The Spectator* (1711-14), and their daily journal *The Guardian* (1713), are considered especially useful on account of their wide dissemination and the diverse range of topics relating to embodied politeness that they discussed.[105] Works that specifically dealt with issues of embodiment, such as William Hay's essay 'On Deformity', are also examined because they offer vital insights into an individual's lived embodied experiences. Other more satirical works, such as Edward Ward's *The London-Spy* (1700) and George Alexander Steven's *Lectures on Heads* (1764),

[104] Sher identifies philosophical works by David Hume, Adam Smith, David Fordyce, and Lord Kames as eighteenth-century 'best-sellers'. Sher, *The Enlightenment and the Book*, pp. 88-94.

[105] Donald Bond, editor of the modern collected edition of *The Spectator,* estimates that each daily issue enjoyed a circulation of 4,000 copies, with some issues reaching sales figures above 14,000. D. Bond (ed.), 'Introduction', *The Spectator*, five volumes (Oxford, 1965), p. xxvi. John Calhoun Stephens notes that *The Guardian* went through at least thirty bound editions before 1900. J. Calhoun Stephens (ed.), 'Introduction', *The Guardian* (Lexington, 1982), p. 35.

represent other useful sorts of source material for examining how identity was perceived in relation to the appearance of the body.

In places the research will also make use of other miscellaneous printed material including travel accounts, erotica, reference texts and fiction. The use of this miscellaneous source material, alongside the already diverse source set, is considered essential for several reasons. Firstly, although many aspects of the body's appearance were discussed in the core set of sources, it has been necessary to search other sets of evidence to reveal how the meanings attached to particular parts of the body were constructed. Secondly, the inclusion of this material in the analysis is deemed appropriate as it represented another important component of popular print culture which was informed by, and contributed to, the construction of popular ideas about the body.

Whilst the differences between various book genres have been sharply drawn in the preceding discussion, it is important to note that in reality the boundaries between these genres were frequently blurred. This situation occurred for several reasons. Firstly, in the competitive world of the eighteenth-century book market, authors and booksellers were constantly trying to innovate to make texts more appealing to buyers. One way they did this was by 'cross-fertilising' one aspect of a particular genre with another. A good example of this is *Abdeker; or the Art of Preserving Beauty* (1754), where a fictional account of the life of a Persian princess called Fatima supplemented what was otherwise a fairly standard beauty manual.[106] Secondly, authors often strayed off the main topic of their discussion in individual works. For instance, Daniel Turner's *De Morbis Cutaneous; or Diseases Incident to the Skin* (1714), a discourse on the skin primarily aimed at a professional audience, gained widespread recognition because of the lengthy discussion that the author provided on the effects of the maternal imagination on the infant body. Thirdly, many authors were polymaths whose expertise spanned a broad number of different subject areas. In turn, these writers often brought a diverse range of approaches, interests and perspectives to their books which were informed by their work in another field of

[106] The introduction of fictional narrative into conduct works and advice texts was particularly common in the 1750s. It was a discursive form first employed by Robert Dodsley in the *Oeconomy of Human Life* (1751). In response to the commercial success of this text many writers, including the author of *Abdeker,* went on to emulate Dodsley's new discursive formula.

study. A short biography containing information about the social and intellectual backgrounds of book authors is provided in the appendix. Lastly, the 'cross-fertilisation' of different book genres occurred as copying and plagiarism were endemic throughout the eighteenth century. Indeed, authors of the period were often more than happy to draw upon each other's views, and frequently referenced, stole or plagiarised arguments that appeared in other works.

This thesis also investigates various images and diagrams that popular authors used to supplement their main textual discussions of the body. However, other sorts of visual source material, such as portraiture and anatomical imagery are not investigated for several reasons. Portraiture has been omitted from the analysis because such bodily depictions were principally guided by the prerogative of individual sitters and the pictorial traditions of the portraiture genre. Secondly, anatomical imagery has been excluded from the source set as it was specifically created for the purposes of elite medical education and was very expensive to purchase. It therefore cannot be considered to have represented a part of popular print culture.

Print satire is another set of visual evidence that has been omitted from the sources. This exclusion is made because such material is understood to have shared an ambiguous relationship with polite society and possessed its own complex set of pictorial traditions that cannot be fully examined within the parameters of this research.[107] Secondly, the vast majority of these prints were produced between 1770 and 1830, specifically for a metropolitan elite audience.[108] As such these sources cannot be argued to have been representative of 'British' ideas about the body across the 'long eighteenth century'.

A sizable minority of works examined here were first published in the seventeenth century, or even earlier. Yet, while these works were not produced in the eighteenth century, they do offer interesting insights into how ideas about the body evolved over time. It is worth noting that most of the seventeenth-century books examined here were also re-published in the eighteenth century. This of interest as it suggests that these books contained ideas about the body that were of consequence

[107] M. Hallett, *The Spectacle of Difference: Graphic Satire in the Age of Hogarth* (New Haven & London, 1999), pp. 1-2.
[108] Gatrell, *City of Laughter*, p. 9.

to eighteenth-century readers and informed contemporary conceptions of the body. The evolution of ideas about the body within and between seventeenth-century texts which were re-issued in the eighteenth century has been examined with the assistance of *Early English Books Online* and *Eighteenth-Century Collections Online*, databases which host multiple editions of individual titles. Nonetheless, due of the large number of texts included in the source set, it is usually the first edition of a text that is investigated. In the case of texts first published prior to 1690, it is the first or most commonly printed edition of the work issued during the eighteenth century that has been used.

The vast majority of the texts included in the source set were first published in London. This is because London was the capital of the English language book trade in the eighteenth century.[109] Many of the texts that are examined here were thus written by authors living in London and show a bias towards the concerns of those living in the metropolis. Nevertheless, during the eighteenth century there was a vibrant book trade throughout Britain and Europe which means that these books would have been widely distributed beyond London. Circulating libraries, borrowing and lending networks and book readings, would also have ensured that many of these works would have reached the eyes and ears of those living in places far beyond the metropolis.[110] Consequently, while the texts that are investigated in this research were primarily written by London residents and most widely circulated among this metropolitan readership, it is understood that they influenced how people living beyond this geographical locale thought about the body.

Several works that are included in the source set were first published in Edinburgh. This is especially true of medical texts from the first half of the century because of the leading role of Edinburgh's medical school in anatomical, surgical and medical education at this time, and of philosophical texts from the second half of the century which were published as part of the Scottish Enlightenment. A minority of works included in the source set were published in Dublin, Bath, Oxford, Cambridge

[109] Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, p. 132.

[110] M. Towsey, 'Reading the Scottish Enlightenment: Libraries, Readers and Intellectual Culture in Provincial Scotland, c. 1750–c. 1820', PhD thesis, University of St Andrews (2007); M. Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment: Books and their Readers in Provincial Scotland 1750-1820* (Leiden & Boston, 2010).

and York. Analysis of these works is considered unproblematic given that all of these cities were important provincial cultural centres where elite urban culture thrived. Significant numbers of the London elite also travelled to and between these towns for the purposes of leisure, healthcare and education. The numbers of texts published in provincial centres also grew steadily over the course of the century due to the growth of the provincial book trade. Nonetheless, in order to bring some coherence to the use of these sources, only texts that were also published in London editions have been included in the source set.

In terms of the works first published outside Britain, only those translated into English and published in London have been included in the sources. The majority of texts first published outside Britain were published in France and written by French authors. Counting among the Frenchmen whose work is considered here are: Claude Quillet (1602-1661), Charles Le Brun (1619-1690), François Mauriceau (1637-1709), Nicholas Andry (1658-1742), Jean Gailhard (1659-1708), Pierre-Joseph Desault (1738-1795) and Pierre Rameau (1674-1748). A smaller number of books were first published in Italy, Switzerland, Germany and the Netherlands. For example, Johan Jacob Wecker (1528-1586), Samuel Tissot (1728-1797) and Johann Caspar Lavater (1741-1801) were Swiss, Cesare Ripa (1560-1645) and Bernardino Ramazzini (1633-1714) were Italian, and Henrick van Deventer (1651-1724) was Dutch. The only text published outside Europe that is investigated is Samuel Stanhope Smith's *An Essay on the Causes of the Variety of Complexion* (1787), which was first published in Philadelphia. As is evidenced in the appendix, many of the works examined here were also later published in America.

These foreign sources will be investigated for several reasons. To begin with, many of the foreign texts were widely read, disseminated and discussed in eighteenth-century Britain, and were often referenced in books by British authors. Secondly, in the seventeenth century most conduct books published in Britain were derived from, or translated versions of, continental texts. This was because continental culture and manners were thought to be particularly sophisticated by the British during this period.[111] French conduct books and advice books also remained popular in the

[111] Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility*, p. 75.

eighteenth century, although they did provoke criticism by some authors who complained that they promoted excess and effeminacy.[112] Additionally, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there was a vibrant exchange of medical ideas, methods and research throughout Europe via teachers and students moving between universities with medical teaching schools, such as Edinburgh, Oxford, Cambridge, Leiden and Paris, and various medical texts. This meant that 'foreign' popular medical books, which were translated in English, shared many similar conceptions of the body with those written by British medical authors.

Chapter Outline

Each of the chapters in this thesis examines how a specific part of the body was conceptualised in popular thought. Chapter one examines changing understandings of digestion, consumption and body size. By analysing contemporary interpretations of digestion, it begins by evidencing how humoural ideas about the body, with their emphasis on the roles of bodily fluids, increasingly gave way to a new structural understanding of the body as a collection of organs. After that, it investigates the different sorts of dietetic advice that were provided in popular texts and how these books informed what different social actors chose to consume. In turn, it explores the changing meanings attached to fat and thin bodies, and how the body's size was seen as a signifier of social character. Together this analysis illustrates how popular discourses informed popular understandings of how the body worked and why the body's external appearance was thought to suggest information about a person's identity.

Chapter two examines how the skin was conceptualised as a boundary between the inner and outer body, and the 'self' and society. Initially it charts the way that the skin was re-imagined as a corporeal boundary over the course of the period. In particular, it shows how the colour of the skin went from being seen as an indication of an individual's humoural temperament, to an external marker of 'natural' distinction which rendered information about a person's gender, class and race perceptible. It also looks at the various social meanings attached to markings that

[112] M. Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century* (London & New York, 1996), pp. 6-10.

appeared on the skin's surface as symbols of individual identity. This chapter demonstrates how the appearance of the visible body went from being seen as a reflection of a person's character, temperament and health, to evidence of 'natural' and corporeally rooted forms of social distinction.

The appearance of the face and its features, and how the face was perceived as a signifier of a person's social identity, will be the subject of investigation in chapter three. It starts by examining physiognomic understandings of the face and why the legitimacy of physiognomy fell at the beginning of the century, before rising again at its end. This analysis also examines how the face became embroiled in cultural discussions concerning how the body functioned as a social actor that emerged in the wake of the dramatic social and economic changes occurring in this period. It achieves this by exploring changing understandings of beauty and ugliness, and how 'polite' discourse presented the expressions of the face and its features as indicators of a person's character and politeness. This chapter therefore outlines the different ways that the body, as a social actor, was believed to convey information a person's identity.

Chapter four examines what the appearance of the head and hair was thought to suggest about an individual's social identity. Chiefly, it analyses how the head functioned as a gendered symbol of authority and how this informed the different ways that the hair was displayed by men and women of different classes and professions. Yet, this investigation also looks at the various identity meanings attached to different hair colours and the way that hair colour came to be seen as evidence of 'natural' national or racial distinction in the second half of the century. This part of the research thus illustrates how the appearance of the body was perceived in relation to categories of social difference and how individuals manipulated aspects of their appearance in order to align themselves with culturally constructed identity categories.

Chapter five, which examines the meanings attached to the breasts, is the only chapter which deals with a specifically 'gendered' part of the body. It investigates how the meanings attached to the breasts changed over the course of a woman's life cycle in relation to women's expected behaviour as virgins, wives and mothers. The analysis also explores the way that popular dialogues concerning the display of the breasts and

breast feeding were used to construct, and corporeally embed, ideas of 'natural' femininity in the second half of the century. This chapter consequently demonstrates how discussions relating to social difference coagulated around dialogues concerning particular parts of the body in popular discourse.

The sixth chapter explores the social meanings attached to the hands. Initially, it examines why palmistry lost its cultural resonance in the early eighteenth century. It then examines how the Enlightenment, with its emphasis on classification, encouraged popular commentators to formulate increasingly precise definitions of the different parts of the hands. Next, the analysis will investigate the class based associations attached to the appearance and uses of the hands, and how the elites and the lower classes were characterised by the actions which their hands performed. This chapter demonstrates how the process of discursive dismemberment allowed social commentators to inscribe different parts of the body with specific sorts of identity meanings and associations.

Finally, chapter seven explores the different ways that the legs and feet were conceptualised in polite discourse. Primarily, it investigates how the proportion of the legs were used as embodied scale against which a person's gender, class and race was gauged. It also explores what sorts of legs and feet were considered the most 'fit' to perform polite embodied performances, and how the display of various corporeal actions that employed the legs and feet, including standing, walking and dancing, were informed by 'politeness.' In addition, it examines the various social meanings attached to legs that were considered 'disabled', 'diseased' or 'deformed', and how people manipulated the associations connected to disabilities and deformities for their own ends. This chapter thus examines some of the key features and paradoxes of embodied 'politeness' and its physical performance.

1. Digestion and Body Size

Introduction

In humans, the belly or abdomen is the part of the body between the chest and pelvis which encloses the stomach, intestines, liver, gallbladder, pancreas and spleen. Encompassing so much of the digestive system, the belly is identified as an important site of corporeal incorporation where food collected from the external environment is assimilated into the body and transformed into energy and flesh.[113] That being said, eating and drinking practices are understood to vary from culture to culture in reference to prevailing patterns of consumption, and between different social actors in accordance with their socio-economic status and position within society. Consequently, the appearance of the belly, as the externally visible part of the intestines, is accorded various identity meanings in different cultures. Whether referring to its internal processes or external appearance, the belly thus represents an important site of individual self-fashioning where people communicate information about their identity.[114]

Historians have shown a growing interest in aspects of eighteenth-century abdominal experience. One strand of this scholarship is concerned with changing eating and drinking habits. Troy Bickham argues that in the late seventeenth century, increasing food availability and the incorporation of foreign foods like tea, coffee and sugar into the British diet transformed consumption practices.[115] It is argued that while elite dining had previously been 'a competitive exercise in conspicuous consumption', over the course of the century the selection, preparation and presentation of food became more important indicators of wealth, power and status.[116] Steven Shapin argues that these same changes caused temperance and moderation to become important features of dietary discussion at this time, showing

[113] C. Forth & A. Carden-Coyne (eds), *Cultures of the Abdomen: Diet, Digestion and Fat in the Modern World* (Basingstoke, 2005), p. 1.
[114] Ibid, p. 2.
[115] T. Bickham, 'Eating the Empire: Intersections of Food, Cookery and Imperialism in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Past and Present*, 198 (2005), pp. 71-109; T. Bickham, 'Defining Good Food: Cookery Book Illustrations', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 31 (2008), pp. 473-489.
[116] Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility*, p. 121.

that both conduct literature and medical advice texts argued that what was dietetically 'good for you' was also 'morally good'.[117]

A second associated line of inquiry looks at how these transformations altered the meanings attached to the body's size. Ken Albala, for instance, has illustrated how 'corpulency' came to be identified as a disease in the eighteenth century.[118] Other historians have shown the ways that obesity was linked with new sorts of nervous disease such as hypochondria.[119] Anita Guerrini, in her case study of the life of the overweight physician George Cheyne, demonstrates the way this individual saw his own weight problems as the result of personal luxury, excess and physiological failure.[120] Porter, on the other hand, has drawn attention to the cultural privileging of the slim figure in the last quarter of the century, noting that trends for thinness were connected to changing perceptions of the fat body.[121] This scholarship has illustrated that the body's size came to be inscribed with a new set of identity associations in the eighteenth century, with reference to changing ideas about appropriate forms of consumption.

This chapter examines eighteenth-century discussions concerning the abdomen. Initially, it outlines the ways that humoural medicine explained how the body worked and the stomach digested food and drink. As well as providing an introduction to humoural understandings of the body, this part of the chapter examines the development of philosophical and medical understandings of the body as a collection of organs.[122] Next, the analysis looks at how popular medical advice authors attested that health could be maintained through dietetic regulation and the reasons for the growing significance of temperance in 'polite' discourse. The chapter continues by examining how changing notions of appropriate consumption altered the

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[117] S. Shapin, *Never Pure: Historical Studies of Science as if It Was Produced by People with Bodies, Situated in Time, Space, Culture, and Society, and Struggling for Credibility and Authority* (Baltimore, 2010), p. 260.

[118] K. Albala, 'Weight Loss in the Age of Reason', in Forth & Cardin-Coyle (eds), *Cultures of the Abdomen*, pp.169-185.

[119] F. A. Jonsson, 'The Physiology of Hypochondria in Eighteenth-Century Britain', in Forth & Cardin-Coyle (eds), *Cultures of the Abdomen*, pp. 15-31.

[120] A. Guerrini, *Obesity and Depression in the Enlightenment: The Life and Times of George Cheyne* (Norman, 2000), p. xix.

[121] R. Porter, *Flesh in the Age of Reason* (London, 2004), p. 240.

[122] H. King, *The Disease of Virgins: Green Sickness, Chlorosis, and the Problems of Puberty* (London, 2004), p. 23.

meanings attached to the body's size and shape. The last two sections conclude by exploring how the body's size became embroiled in debates concerning social difference as it related to sex, gender, nationality and race. This chapter intends to offer a broad view of how medical and cultural discourses informed popular understandings about how the body worked and what features of the body's appearance suggested about aspects of a person's character.

Humours, Organs, Blood and the Stomach

Throughout the eighteenth century humoural medicine dominated understandings of the body, health and sickness. In this ancient system of medical thought, derived from the writings of Hippocrates and Galen, the body was believed to consist of four key fluids or 'humours': blood, yellow-bile, black-bile and phlegm. Each humour had a different effect upon the body, blood being believed to make the body hot and wet, yellow-bile hot and dry, black-bile cold and dry, and phlegm cold and wet. Maintaining the correct balance of these humours, which continually flowed back and forth around the body, was believed essential for health. This was because the dominance of one humour in a particular part of the body was thought to produce the noxious vapours which caused sickness and disease.

To ensure good health, doctors and medical advice authors attested that it was necessary for individuals to regulate the balance of humours present in their bodies. They advised that the best way to do this was by observing proper behaviour in regards to the 'six non-naturals': air, food and drink, sleep and wake, exercise and rest, evacuations and obstructions, and the passions of the mind. Additionally, people were told to tailor their daily actions in accordance with their age, sex, place of residence and personal habit or occupation. This was because a person's humoural consistency was understood to vary in accordance with these factors. Indeed, while men were thought to have a dominance of hot and dry humours in their bodies, women were believed to be essentially cold and moist. Likewise, old people, and people who led sedentary lives, were thought to have more cold humours than young and active people whose bodies were dominated by the hot humours. The environment in which a person lived also informed their humoural make-up. While a hot and dry climate

promoted the instance of hot and dry humours, cold and wet areas were believed to produce blood and phlegm, making the body cold and wet.

People were also told to tailor their daily routine of health maintenance in correspondence with their distinctive humoural temperament. It was believed that every individual was born with a distinctive humoural 'complexion' of which there were four main 'types': sanguine, choleric, melancholic and phlegmatic. Whilst a prevalence of blood in the body created a sanguine temperament, an excess of yellow-bile, black-bile or phlegm respectively caused a choleric, melancholic or phlegmatic temperamental complexion. In turn, a person's temperament predisposed them to particular diseases. For instance, choleric and sanguine people were thought to be susceptible diseases of the blood, such as strokes, whereas those who were melancholic or phlegmatic were believed to be predisposed to diseases of the nerves.

Additionally, an individual's humoural temperament was understood to influence their character. People of a sanguine disposition were thought to be naturally courageous, hopeful and amorous, while individuals who were choleric were believed to be bad tempered. In contrast, people who were melancholic were identified as being despondent and irritable, and those who were phlegmatic, calm and unemotional. In this medical paradigm the balance of the humours was therefore used to explain almost every aspect of a person's physiology, health and character.

Although humoural medicine attested that health was dependant on the correct balance of all the humours, no single humour was thought to have a greater influence on the body than blood. This was because blood was believed to be the substance that carried the 'vital spirits' which nourished the body and facilitated life, growth and movement. Blood was also thought to be the original fluid from which several other 'vital' bodily liquids, including male and female 'seed', breast milk, salvia and perspiration, were derived.[123]

In humoural medicine blood was believed to originate from an external source: food and drink. After being consumed, food and drink was understood to pass down the throat into the stomach where it was digested. Once in the stomach this food was transformed into a milky substance called 'chyle'. From the stomach chyle was then

[123] Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, p. 44; King, *The Disease of Virgins,* p. 67.

passed to the liver where it was 'cooked' or 'concocted' and changed into blood. Subsequently, some of this blood was transferred to the rest of the body to promote growth and nutrition, while the remainder went off in different directions to the heart and brain. In the heart blood was mixed with the vital spirits and conveyed to the rest of the body via the arteries to allow movement, while in the brain the animal spirits were added to the blood and transferred to the body by the nerves to facilitate bodily sensation.[124]

Nevertheless, during the seventeenth century several key medical discoveries caused professional commentators to question this traditional account of how food and drink was turned into blood. William Harvey's discovery that the blood was pumped around the body by the heart was particularly significant. This was because Harvey challenged the Galenic belief that the liver was the centre of blood transmutation. Harvey questioned this interpretation because in his anatomical studies he observed that so much blood was pumped out of the heart every minute that it was not possible for this amount of blood to be constantly replaced by new blood made from food and drink in the liver. Instead, Harvey reasoned that the same blood must be pumped around the body by the heart in a continual circuit. Through his discoveries Harvey thus disavowed the traditional belief that blood was made from digested food and drink in the liver.[125]

Following on from where Harvey left off, in the second half of the seventeenth century a range of European scientists, anatomists, physicians and philosophers, including Marcello Malpighi, René Descartes, Thomas Willis, and Herman Boerhaave, began to promote mechanistic views of 'nature' and investigate the roles of the different organs within the body.[126] While with the aid of the recently invented microscope Malpighi provided the first detailed structural studies of the liver, skin, lungs, spleen and brain, in his investigation of the nerves Willis identified the brain as the centre of the nervous system. Around the same time, Descartes began to promote

[124] This model of digestion is described in detail by Porter in *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind: A Medical History of Humanity from Antiquity to the Present* (London, 1997), p. 76.
[125] It is worth noting that although Harvey showed that blood was not made in the liver, he failed to identify where in the body blood was actually made. Answering this question became a subject of sustained medical discussion in the eighteenth century.
[126] Porter, *Flesh in the Age of Reason,* pp. 52-56.

mechanistic models of the body; likening the body and its parts to clocks and automata, and emphasising the independent roles of the body's organs. Boerhaave, incorporating these understandings of the body into ideas about health and sickness, likewise expounded new mechanistic interpretations of disease, differentiating between diseases of the 'solids' and those of the blood and humours.[127] Consequently, in the late seventeenth century humoural interpretations of the body with their focus on the 'oeconomy' of fluids within the body, increasingly gave way to a new medical paradigm which concentrated on the specific structures and functions of the body's different organs.

One effect of this change was a growing medical curiosity in the physiological functions of the stomach. Partially this situation was owed to the fact that it had been shown that the liver only played a marginal role in the process of digestion. Demonstrating this, in 1730 the popular anatomist John Cook wrote that the 'use of the Liver' was 'not to receive the fresh part of the Chyle, as was formerly thought.'[128] In opposition, Cook identified the stomach as the primary site of digestion. He attested:

> The Use and proper Action of the Stomach is Digestion; which is no more than the comminution or separation of the Parts of the Aliment, into such fine Particles as are fit to enter the Lacteal Vessels, and to circulate along with the Mass of Blood.[129]

Thus, in this medical understanding food and drink was not believed to be the source of blood. Instead, nourishing chyle, derived from food and drink, was understood to be transported around the body via the blood after entering the blood stream through vessels in the stomach.

It is important, nevertheless, to note that throughout the eighteenth century the intricacies of the physiological process through which food and drink nourished the body remained subject to enquiry and debate. Specifically, physicians and anatomists

[127] Boerhaave was the most influential medical teacher of his day. Many medical students, including those who later published medical books that are examined in this thesis, attended his lectures at the University of Leiden between 1714 and 1729. See the appendix for further details.
[128] J. Cook, *An Anatomical and Mechanical Essay on the Whole Animal Oeconomy,* vol. 1 (London, 1730), p. 173.
[129] Ibid, p. 97.

argued about whether digestion was a mechanical or chemical process. Showing this, in the second half of the century the physician William Hunter addressed his students with the assertion that: 'some…will have it that the stomach is a mill, others that it is a fermenting vat, others again that it is a stew pan.'[130] Yet, what was significant about these debates was that they continually presented the stomach as the primary organ of interest for their enquiry. Hunter tellingly informed his pupils that in 'his view of the matter' the stomach was 'neither a mill, fermenting vat, nor a stew-pan; but a stomach, gentleman, a stomach.'[131]

Popular Medical Advice Books and the 'Regimens'

The development of popular print culture and a growing demand for health care provision caused a surge in popular medical advice book publication in the early eighteenth century. These books provided lay readers with medical information about how the body worked for the first time.[132] However, conveying information about how the body worked was not the principal concern of these authors. Rather, popular medical advice books primarily provided readers with basic information about how they could maintain their health and well-being. This instruction was usually organised around discussion of the Galenic six non-naturals with particular emphasis on the diet. Therefore, as will be demonstrated in the following discussion, knowledge about how the body worked, including the new discoveries about the body being made in the late seventeenth century, only filtered through these popular medical texts in a piecemeal fashion.

During the sixteenth century medical advice books advised that manipulating the balance of humours within the body through dietary practice was the best means of maintaining health. This was because, as blood was thought to be produced from food, the quality and quantity of ingested food was believed to inform the character of the blood.[133] In *The Castel of Health* (1539), one of the earliest and most influential medical advice texts of the early modern period, Sir Thomas Elyot attested that by

[130] This note, taken from one of William Hunter's lectures, was presented as an epigraph in J. A. Paris, *A Treatise on Diet: With a View to Establish, on Practical Grounds, a System of Rules for the Prevention and Cure of Diseases* (London, 1826).
[131] Ibid.
[132] Gowing, *Common Bodies,* p. 17.
[133] King, *The Disease of Virgins,* p. 67.

following a strict and regular diet people could stave off the dangers of sickness and ill-health.[134] This sentiment was echoed by Thomas Moffet in his book *Health's Improvement* (1655), a text which listed the inherent qualities of different 'aliments'.[135] Moffet explained:

> LIFE and HEALTH consists in a due Circulation of the Fluids thro' the Canals desitn'd by Nature to convey them. And as these Fluids cannot perform their Offices, and answer the Exigencies of the animal Oeconomy, without a perpetual Supply, it is so order'd by Providence, that it should be constantly recruited by Aliment, with which we are abundantly furnish'd.[136]

To ensure that proper nourishment was passed on to the body, hearty eating and drinking was advised by medical authors. This was because they believed that hunger caused the stomach to become filled with noxious humours. The assorted question and answer book *Aristotle's Book of Problems* posed the question: '*why do Physicians prescribe that Men should eat when they have an Appetite*?' The response was: 'Because much Hunger & Emptiness will fill the Stomach with naughty rotten-Humours, which he draws unto himself instead of Meat.'[137] Prolonged abstinence from food was considered equally injurious to health. Moffet noted that hunger was known to cause saliva to become 'very acrid, penetrating, detergent, and resolvent'.[138]

These books also provided detailed information about the different qualities of foods, classifying them in relation to their humoural qualities (hot, dry, cold and wet), to allow readers to maintain a humoural equilibrium through their diet. Most commentators in the first half of the seventeenth century subscribed to the 'hot regimen.' This system of health maintenance was based on the understanding that in order to ensure health, the physiological behaviour of fluids within the body needed to be kept in a precise balance. In addition, the hot regimen attested that individuals

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[134] Slack, 'Mirrors of Health and Treasures of Poor Men', p. 250.

[135] 'Aliment' was the medical term used to refer to food and drink in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

[136] T. Moffet, *Health's Improvement; or, Rules Comprizing and Discovering the Nature, Method, and Manner of Preparing all Sorts of Food Used in this Nation* (London, 1746), p. 1. This work was first published posthumously in London in 1655. This edition of the text was edited and enlarged by the physician Christopher Bennet. Henceforth, it is the second issue from 1746 which will be referenced.

[137] Anon., *Aristotle's Book of Problems*, *with Other Astronomers, Astrologers, Physicians, and Philosophers*, 26th edition (London, 1715), p. 47.

[138] Moffet, *Health's Improvement*, p. 3.

needed to eat a high proportion of 'hot' foods to promote the expulsion of infections, excreta and other noxious bodily substances from the body.

The most 'stimulating' foods were thought to be those that had 'hot' properties like blood. Indeed, meats like beef, mutton and bacon were believed to be especially nutritious because of their association with blood production. Moffet argued: 'Meats of a middle Substance are in general the best, and most properly to be called Meats, engendering neither too fine nor too gross Blood, agreeing in a manner with all Ages, Times and Complexions.'[139] Nevertheless, alongside meat Moffet recommended the regular consumption of several other foods. For instance, Moffett noted that it was necessary to eat bread for energy. He wrote: 'Bread doth of all things best nourish and strengthen both Man and Beast; insomuch that with a little Bread they are enabled for a whole Day's Journey, when with twice as much Meat they would have fainted.'[140] Similarly, Moffet proposed that that some vegetables, including leeks, carrots, parsnips and turnips, should be incorporated into the diet to ensure proper humoural balance.

However, from the 1650s the hot regimen progressively fell out of favour as physicians began to question the belief that 'aliment' was the source of blood and as people became disillusioned with the minute dietary regulations this regimen involved.[141] In place of the hot regimen, several influential physicians, such as George Cheyne and John Arbuthnot, began to advocate the 'cool regimen'. Followers of the cool regimen argued that bodily health was dependant on the care of the 'external solids' and the regulation of various physiological processes, including digestion, through bodily 'cooling'. This regimen also demanded that people tailored their daily routine of health maintenance in correspondence with all of the six non-naturals, not just their diet. This was because exposure to cooling and refreshing 'airs', as well as cold water and exercise, was thought to help keep the body cool. It was this system of health maintenance that was dominant in the eighteenth century.

Despite the emphasis which the 'cool regimen' placed on correct behaviour with regards to the six 'non-naturals', most advocates of the cool regimen, emulating

[139] Ibid, p. 103.
[140] Ibid, p. 334.
[141] Smith, 'Prescribing the Rules of Health', p. 258.

earlier authors, chiefly discussed the influence of food and drink upon the body. Demonstrating this, in his *History of Health*, a text which presented and discussed influential passages from the works of many contemporary physicians, the doctor James MacKenzie wrote that:

> Among all the wise contrivances observed in the human fabric none can excite our attention and admiration more than the disposition and mechanism of those parts, by which our aliment is concocted, or fitted for our daily support and nourishment.[142]

Nonetheless, the forms of dietetic management that the 'cool regimen' involved were distinctive to the 'hot regimen' in several respects. Firstly, proponents of the cool regimen emphasised the health benefits of a simple and moderate diet, and warned against the dangers of excessive consumption. Thomas Tryon, the popular advice author and early advocate of vegetarianism, argued that natural appetites needed to be restrained with 'simple Meat and Drinks.' Correspondingly, he noted that: 'Varieties are always dangerous, if great Care and Temperance be not observ'd.'[143] Secondly, while continuing to note the dietary value of meats like beef, followers of the cool regimen promoted the benefits of a vegetable based diet. This was because vegetables, such as lettuce, cucumber and artichoke, were thought to be 'cooling' foods which reduced the body's heat. Indeed, Arbuthnot wrote that lettuce was well known for being 'cooling and relaxing'.[144]

To provide readers with simple forms of dietary advice, advocates of the cool regimen presented basic dietetic rules for people of distinctive humoural temperaments. In this way, people's humoural differences were used to dictate aspects of their daily behaviour. Cheyne wrote that it 'tis true' that:

> The great Distinction of the *Fitness* or *Unfitness* of the several Sorts of *Animals* and *Vegetables* for human Food, depends upon their *original Make, Frame*, and *Nature* (and that can be found out only by Experience) as also upon the *special* Taste, *Complexion, Temperament*, and *Habits* of the Person that feeds on them.[145]

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[142] J. Mackenzie, *The History of Health, and the Art of Preserving it* (Edinburgh, 1758), p. 331.
[143] T. Tryon, *The Way to Health, Long Life and Happiness, or a Discourse of Temperance,* 3rd edition (London, 1697), p.40.
[144] J. Arbuthnot, *An Essay Concerning the Nature of Aliments* (London, 1731), pp. 222-3.
[145] G. Cheyne, p. 20.

In the first instance, as men and women were thought to have distinctive humoural characteristics, they were advised to consume different sorts and quantities of food. Generally speaking, men were advised to eat large quantities of 'hot' foods because it was believed that the dominant presence of hot and dry humours in their bodies enabled them to digest their food quickly. Arbuthnot instructed 'Young, hot, strong, labouring men' to feed on large quantities of hot food like 'Beef, Bacon, powdered Flesh and Fish, hard Cheese, Rye-Bread, and hard Eggs.'[146] Conversely, as women's bodies were believed to be colder and wetter than men's, they were instructed to eat small quantities of light and cold food like milk, broth, jelly, white meat and rice. Likewise, women were advised against consuming strong alcoholic drinks such as brandy and port. The conduct writer John Essex advised ladies: 'You are by Nature framed of too delicate Constitutions to admit of Debauchees from strong Liquors; the Temperament of Blood and Spirits is much finer, and therefore more subject to be inflam'd with sudden heats and disorders.'[147]

To vary what you ate at different stages in life was considered equally essential for health. The best-selling medical advice author William Buchan wrote that after birth babies and infants only needed 'very little food.' It was added that what they did receive 'should be thin, weak, light, and of a cooling quality.'[148] However, when children approached puberty it was advised that they should eat greater quantities of rich food. 'Young growing persons' should eat more than those who were 'aged, weak and slender', *Aristotle's Book of Problems* reasoned, as 'young Men are hot and dry, & therefore the Heat doth digest more; and by Consequence they desire more.'[149] Cheyne similarly proposed that young labouring men required much more food than the 'aged'. He added: 'The Age should…lessen the Quantity, and lower the Quantity of *their Foods gradually*, as they grow *older*; even before a manifest *Decay* of Appetite force them to it.'[150]

Medical advice books also provided instruction on how individuals could remedy particular instances of ill-health by eating specific foods. Cheyne explained:

[146] Arbuthnot, *An Essay Concerning the Nature of Aliments*, p. 227.
[147] J. Essex, *The Young Ladies Conduct* (London, 1722), p. 41.
[148] W. Buchan, *Domestic Medicine* (Edinburgh, 1769), p. 20.
[149] *Aristotle's Book of Problems*, p. 47.
[150] G. Cheyne, *An Essay of Health and Long Life* (London, 1724), p. 229.

'*That a* proper *and* specific diet *for each* distemper, *is a necessary to be known and prescrib'd by the and honest and faithful* Physician, *as proper and specifick Medicine*.'[151] Evidencing how different foods were thought to produce particular effects upon the body, Arbuthnot wrote that vegetables of 'the Cabbage Kind resolve the Bile…Herbs as are odorous are Heating, Legumes are flatulent, ripe Fruits laxative, and unripe, astringent.'[152] Modification of the diet was even advised in cases of sickness that were un-connected with digestive problems. Buchan prescribed that sufferers of earache should drink 'whey or; decoctions of barley and liquorice with figs or raisins.'[153] Thus, dietary regulation was presented as the primary means of maintaining and remedying health in popular medical advice books throughout the eighteenth century.

Temperance

During the seventeenth century dietary temperance was presented as a sign of moral virtue. In his educational treatise for English nobleman, the French writer Jean Gailhard definitely urged parents to accustom their children to a sober and temperate diet at an early age. This was because he wrote that gentleman should approach the table 'not so much to please their palate, as to nourish their body.'[154] Being of a similar opinion, in *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693), the philosopher John Locke wrote that gentlemen should observe 'a plain and simple diet' and eat only one meal that included meat a day.[155]

Conduct authors continued to present temperance as a moral virtue in the eighteenth century. Commentators at this time also began to draw upon medical arguments, which promoted the health benefits of dietary moderation, to support their own calls for temperance. Illustrating this, the social commentator Benjamin Grosvenor presented temperance as a Christian virtue and a 'medicinal prescription'. He wrote:

[151] G. Cheyne, *The English Malady* (London, 1733), p. vi.
[152] Arbuthnot, *Essay Concerning the Nature of Aliments*, p. 222-3, 461.
[153] Ibid, p. 459.
[154] J. Gailhard, *The Compleat Gentleman, or, Directions for the Education of Youth* (London, 1678), p. 88.
[155] J. Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (London, 1693), pp. 12-3.

> This Government of Appetite and Inclination, as to the Pleasures of Sense, has at once the Nature of a *Christian Grace*, a *moral Virtue*, and a *medicinal Prescription*, and may therefore be reckoned a Preservative of the Health both of Body and Mind.[156]

As a form of self-regulation associated with health and moral virtue, temperance was also identified as an expression of 'politeness'. In their journal *The Spectator*, Addison and Steele certainly endorsed the sort of temperate lifestyle detailed by the Paduan nobleman Luigi Cornaro in his *Discourse on the Temperate Life* (1550). Addison wrote in praise of the work that it was 'written with such a Spirit of Cheerfulness, Religion and good Sense, as are the natural Concomitants of Temperance and Sobriety.'[157]

Temperance, most commonly identified as a masculine virtue in the early modern period, also became an important feature of 'polite' femininity in the eighteenth century. The conduct author Charles Allen instructed his imaginary daughter: 'Temperance, my Dear, consists in regulating all the bodily appetites, and keeping them within proper bounds; in eating and drinking as much, and no more than is conducive to the health of the body'.[158] To sell the advantages of temperance to women even further, the conduct author James Bland noted that it indicated female righteousness. '*Temperance*', he proposed, 'is such a sovereign Virtue, that nothing is more becoming a *crown'd Head*; and it's no small Argument in Woman's Praise, not only from the good Admonition of this virtuous Queen, but even from the Example of their Sex in general.'[159]

However, what sort of dietary practice constituted 'temperance' was contested throughout the century. Commentators not only disagreed with one another about appropriate levels of consumption, but also proposed that what represented 'temperance' varied from person to person. In *The Young Gentleman and Lady Instructed* (1747), the anonymous author wrote:

> I will not pretend to lay down any determinate rule for temperance; because luxury in one, may be temperance in another: But there are few, that have lived any time in the world, who are not judged of their own constitution, so

[156] B. Grosvenor, *Health. An Essay on its Nature*, 2nd edition (London, 1748), p. 115.
[157] *The Spectator*, No. 195 (13th October 1711).
[158] Allen, *The Polite Lady*, p. 172.
[159] J. Bland, *Essay in Praise of Women* (London, 1733), p. 94.

> far as to know what kinds, and what proportions of food best agree with themselves.[160]

In this fashion, temperance was presented as a personal matter demanding individual discretion and self-regulation.

Nonetheless, some consumption practices, particularly those associated with modern commercialism, were explicitly condemned by commentators. From the late seventeenth century, the extension of trading networks with the empire introduced a vast new variety of foods into the British diet. Among these products were tea, coffee, chocolate, spices, citrus fruits and sugar, from places such as India, the West Indies and China. The social commentator Samuel Fawconer wrote: 'It is the character of modern epicurism to explore the treasures of sea and land, and traverse every quarter of the globe, in quest of new dainties to regale a luxurious palate.'[161] Cheyne also noted that 'since the Time *foreign Luxury* has been brought to its Perfection here, there are a kind of Liquors in Use among the better Sort, which some great *Doctors* have Condemn'd…I mean: *Coffee, Tea,* and *Chocolate*'.[162]

As Cheyne stated, the popular consumption of these new luxury foods was a source of concern for many commentators. Fawconer, who criticised 'modern' luxury in all its forms, certainly believed that the elite's excessive consumption of exotic foods was ruining the national 'stock'. He wrote that such changes in dietetic practice made it:

> easy to account for the present change in our animal œconomy: where the rosy cheek of health is bartered for the wan complexion of sickness and the robust and hardy generation of ancient *Britons*, is dwindled into a dangerous and puny race of emasculated invalids.[163]

The elite's growing taste for elaborate French sauced dishes, like fricassees, and new highly spiced dishes, such as curry, was of equal concern to authors. This was a view presented in *The Spectator.* Addison rhetorically asked what the ancient philosopher

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[160] Anon., *The Young Gentleman and Lady Instructed in Such Principles of Politeness, Prudence and Virtue*, vol. 2 (London, 1747), p. 171.
[161] S. Fawconer, *Essay on Modern Luxury*, *or, An Attempt to Delineate its Nature, Causes and Effects* (London, 1765), pp. 11-12.
[162] Cheyne, *Essay of Health and Long Life*, pp. 60-1.
[163] Ibid, p. 32.

Diogenes, who had promoted a simple lifestyle, would have said if 'he had been present at the Gluttony of a modern Meal?' He continued:

> Would not he have thought the Master of a Family mad…had he seen him devour Fowl, Fish, and Flesh; swallow Oyl and Vinegar, Wine and Spices; throw down Sallads of twenty different Herbs, Sauces of an hundred Ingredients, Confections and Fruits of numberless Sweets and Flavours?

For his own part Addison asserted that when he beheld 'a fashionable Table set out in all its Magnificence', he fancied he saw 'Gouts and Dropsies, Fevers and Lethargies, with other innumerable Distempers lying in Ambuscade among the Dishes.'[164] Eighteenth-century discussions of temperance consequently evidence that consumption practices became laden with moral meaning in this period, causing what a person consumed to be viewed as evidence of their character and 'politeness'.

Corpulency

As a result of its associations with intemperance, obesity or 'corpulency' was progressively viewed as a cause of disease in the eighteenth century. Indicating this change, from the 1720s several works were published to try and help tackle the growing obesity problem. Counting among these texts were Thomas Short's *Discourse Concerning the Causes and Effects of Corpulency* (1727) and Malcolm Flemyng's *A Discourse on the Nature, Causes, and Cure of Corpulency* (1760).

In such books obesity was identified as a disease because of the way it limited the body's functions and opened the door to other health problems. Flemyng noted: 'Corpulency, when in extraordinary degree, may be reckoned a disease, as it in some measure obstructs the free exercise of the animal functions; and hath a tendency to shorten life, by paving the way to dangerous distempers.'[165] Short also wrote that 'corpulency' occasioned 'Trouble, Pain, and Uneasiness'. This was the reason, he argued, fat people: 'cannot be said to be in a State of Health, but in a morbid State, or under some Disease'.[166] Among the diseases that Short identified as being occasioned by obesity were gout, dropsy, lethargy, sundry tumours, arthritis and bladder stones.

[164] *The Spectator*, No. 195 (13th October 1711).
[165] M. Flemyng, *A Discourse on the Nature, Causes, and Cure of Corpulency* (London, 1760), p. 1.
[166] T. Short, *Discourse Concerning the Causes and Effects of Corpulency* (London, 1727), p. 8.

In the most severe cases, medical authors warned that obesity could even hasten death. To illustrate the dangers that obesity posed to life, writers provided extreme examples of people who had 'dug their graves with their teeth'. In one such instance Short outlined the case of a young lady who was 'a Monster in Nature for Bulk', weighing above 500 pounds, who had died in the '25th Year of her Age' because of her inability to lose weight.[167] The beauty manual *Abdeker; or the Art of Preserving Beauty* (1754), also told readers in no uncertain terms that 'those who are too fat do not live so long as others.'[168]

Obesity was also identified as the cause of many mental disorders. This was because in the late seventeenth century anatomists such as Willis had shown that the stomach had a direct connection to the brain via the nerves. From this time emotional disturbances and mental health problems were thus believed to originate in some sort of digestive abnormality. Evidencing the orthodox medical view, Robert James explained in his *Medicinal Dictionary*:

> When thick and viscid Humours are, by the Spasms of the Lower Belly, copiously convey'd to be the superior Parts of the Head, where they circulate slowly in the Vessels of the Brain; the animal Functions are destroyed; the Senses languish; the Force of the Memory, and Brightness of the Genius, are impair'd; the Patient is prone to Sadness, Diffidence, and Tears; foolish Fancies, and vain Ideas, arise in the Mind; and thus, by slow Degrees, an hypochondriac Melancholy is produced.[169]

In his popular and influential work on the nervous diseases, *The English Malady* (1733), Cheyne detailed how excessive consumption could cause mental disturbance by providing an account of his own experiences. After reaching an enormous thirty-two stone in his early twenties he recorded that he was struck with 'a sudden violent Head-ach' and extreme sickness in his stomach. He noted that his mental state then quickly deteriorated as 'Fright, Anxiety, Dread, and Terror' flooded his mind.' Explaining his plight further, he remembered:

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[167] Ibid, p. 9.
[168] A. Le Camus, *Abdeker: or; The Art of Preserving Beauty* (London, 1754), p. 25.
[169] Definition of 'Hypochondria', from R. James, *A Medicinal Dictionary; Including Physic, Surgery, Anatomy, Chymistry, and Botany*, vol. 2 (London, 1743-45).

> My Sufferings were not to be expressed, and I can scarce describe, or reflect on them without *Horror*. A *perpetual Anxiety* and *Inquietude*, no *Sleep* nor Appetite, a constant *Reaching, Gulping*, and fruitless Endeavour to *pump* up *Flegm, Wind*, and *Choler* Day and Night: A *constant Colick*, and an ill Taste and Savour in my Mind and Stomach, that overcame and *poisoned* every Thing I got down; a *melancholy Fright* and *Pannick*, where my Reason was of no Use to me.[170]

From the 1720s, obesity was thus identified as a debilitating disease and as the cause of several physical and mental disorders.

Fatness and Thinness

The identification of obesity as a disease transformed perceptions of fatness and thinness over the course of the eighteenth century. From discussions of the body's size in beauty manuals it appears that in the first three quarters of the century contemporaries preferred figures which had a little 'meat on their bones.' Indeed, a slightly chubby 'embonpoint' frame was widely heralded as the most beautiful and attractive sort of corporeality. In the beauty guide *Letters to the Ladies* it was noted:

> There is a certain standard of fullness in all bodies, proportioned to their stature, at, or near which, personal beauty shines forth with its greatest lustre. This is that happy mediocrity which the French call *embonpoint*, and for which we have no proper term in the English language.[171]

The French physician Nicholas Andry, whose book *Orthopædia* detailed the causes of diseases and deformities in children, was of a corresponding view, describing 'a young lady of great fortune' and 'a perfect state of health' as 'pretty fat'.[172]

Nonetheless, exactly how fat the perfect 'embonpoint' frame should be was rarely clearly defined by authors. It was evasively proposed in *Orthopædia* that the appropriate measure of a person's size was 'a certain resemblance between them and us, or between the generality of mankind.'[173] Precise descriptions of the 'perfect' figure also frequently dissolved into discourse. Illustrating this problem, in *Abdeker*, plumpness, which was presented in other works as being desirable, was identified as an ugly deformity. It was stated: 'If the Body be too plump and full, it is reckon'd to be

[170] Cheyne, *The English Malady*, pp. 346-7.
[171] Anon., *Letters to the Ladies, on the Preservation of Health and Beauty* (London, 1770), p. 87.
[172] N. Andry, *Orthopædia, or the Art of Preventing or Correcting and Preventing Deformities in Children*, vol. 1 (London, 1743), p. 82.
[173] Ibid.

too fat.'[174] Such confusions continued to exist later in the century. It was stated in *The Art of Preserving Beauty*:

> corpulency, when it is no greater than to come under the French denomination d' *être embonpoint,* is so far from a deformity, as to be rather considered as a perfection: an unwieldy grossness is, however, very disgusting, especially when it appears to proceed from the practice of *kitchen* philosophy.[175]

One way in which commentators sought to clarify what represented appropriate and inappropriate amounts of body fat was by differentiating between the types of fat that appeared on the body. *The Art of Beauty* noted: 'Fatness may be in too great quantity, and that kind of fatness may be general, or particular'.[176] What was meant by this was that the body could either appear fat all over, or in one particular part of the body. In turn, whilst some 'general' fat was considered an attribute to beauty, particular fatness was thought especially ugly and disordered.

The belly and breasts were identified as body parts that were particularly susceptible to becoming fat. Flemyng wrote that corpulency was 'too great an accumulation of animal oil or fat, more or less over the whole body; but chiefly immediately under the skin, in the interstices of the muscles; and within the cavity of the abdomen or lower belly.'[177] Similarly, *Abdeker* attested that 'It often happens in Men as well as Women' that 'one Part of the Body fattens more than any of the rest.' It was added that: 'The Breasts and Belly are generally subject to become very bulky.'[178] *Letters to the Ladies* was in agreement with these assertions, observing that fat was 'most conspicuous in particular parts, as with the belly in men, and belly and breasts in women' (for further discussion on the size of the breasts see chapter 5).[179]

Correspondingly, as David Turner notes in his article on beauty and eighteenth-century embodied aesthetics, beauty manuals emphasised the attractiveness of slim

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[174] Le Camus, *Abdeker*, p. 24.
[175] Anon., *The Art of Preserving Beauty: Containing Instructions to Adorn and Embellish the Ladies, Remove Deformities, and Preserve Health* (London, 1789), p. 129. This book extensively plagiarised Andry's *Orthopaedia,* and took its title from *Abdeker; or the Art of Preserving Beauty.* For further details please refer to the appendix.
[176] Anon., *The Art of Beauty; or, A Companion for the Toilet* (London, 1760), p. 7.
[177] Flemyng, *A Discourse on the Nature, Causes, and Cure of Corpulency*, p. 1.
[178] Le Camus, *Abdeker*, p. 33.
[179] *Letters to the Ladies*, p. 105.

waists and regular sized breasts.[180] Andry asserted: 'The Proportion of the Haunches and Belly contributes not a little to the Beauty of the Body.' This was considered especially important for women. Andry proposed that the 'Fair Sex' ought 'to have a fine Waist' that 'resembles the Greek Y'.[181] The dancing master John Weaver agreed, asserting that 'if it be a Child of the tenderer Sex, she must be bound more streightly', in respect to her clothing, 'about the Waist and Stomach'.[182]

Yet, over the course of the century what constituted a 'fat body' changed in respect to its size as what was constituted a 'normal' figure got thinner.[183] This is evidenced in the way that commentators attacked earlier cultural preferences for plumpness by criticising associations between fatness, health and good humour. In *Abdeker* it was sternly asserted:

> ONE is apt to believe that Persons in this Case are robust, and in perfect Health. On the contrary, they are stupid; their Apprehension is not so lively as it naturally ought to be; they breathe with Difficulty, and are subject to frequent Distempers.[184]

The reason why fat dulled the senses and damaged health, it was stated, was because it caused soul to become 'overwhelm'd with the Weight of a huge Lump of Matter'. It was added that when people were fat the 'Functions of the Understanding are in such a languishing Condition, that it can shew no Marks of its former Brightness.'[185] *Letters to the Ladies* expressed similar ideas, condemning older associations between a round belly and good-nature. It was proposed: 'I forebear taking into consideration an argument which is often insisted upon by our honest big-bellied people; I mean the circumstance of good-nature, as I am much inclined to question its reality.'[186]

Reflecting the changing perceptions of the fat body, the meanings attached to thinness were also re-fashioned during this period. In the first three quarters of the century leanness was seen as a sign of a bad diet, lack of nourishment, ill-health and

[180] D. Turner, 'The Body Beautiful', in Reeves (ed.), *A Cultural History of the Body,* pp. 120-21.
[181] Andry, *Orthopædia*, vol. 1, p. 82.
[182] J. Weaver, *Anatomical and Mechanical Lectures upon Dancing* (London, 1721), p. 20.
[183] Porter argues that this situation is evidenced by the development of fashions for close cut male and female clothing from the 1750s onwards. Porter, *Flesh in the Age of Reason*, p. 240.
[184] Le Camus, *Abdeker*, p. 25.
[185] Ibid.
[186] *Letters to the Ladies*, p. 105.

poverty.[187] This understanding is shown in the way that thin people were often described as 'skeletons'. *Abdeker* remarked that in people who were too lean the visible 'spindle Shanks' of their bones seemed hardly able to sustain their 'walking Skeletons'.[188] It was also noted how leanness could cause the face to look like a skull, and the body like a skeleton. In *Letters to the Ladies* it was stated:

> When the Body is lean, the Face grows long, the Eyes are sunk into the Head, the Mouth enlarges, the Cheeks are hollow, the Face is pale, often yellow, and sometimes the Colour of Lead; the Bones are prominent, and seem to be almost out of Joint.[189]

Furthermore, authors frequently cited thinness as evidence of emotional disturbance. Love-sickness was one particularly commonly cited cause of thinness. *Letters to the Ladies* observed:

> is there anything more proverbial, when a young man becomes lean without a sensible cause than to say, that he is in love? And that love more than every other passion has actually the effect of producing leanness, is a matter beyond contradiction. It is verified by daily experience; and I could adduce many instances of persons with whom I have been acquainted, who were almost reduced to skeletons by the violence of that affection.[190]

Comparably, in *The Virgin Unmask'd* (1709), an advice text which comprised of a series of fictional letters exchanged between a girl called Antonia and her elderly single aunt Lucinda, it was asked how many times it had been observed that when a woman fell in love she became unable to 'endure the sight of Bread, Loath the best of Food, and in an Instant, get an Aversion to twenty things, which she used to admire before.' In cases of women such as this it was said that if their cravings for love were not satisfied, or if the lady involved 'was in any ways hindered in her Frentick Lusts', they would soon 'Swoon away, be thrown into Convulsion's, and such Agonies, as have often proved Fatal.'[191]

[187] Turner, 'The Body Beautiful', pp. 123.
[188] Le Camus, *Abdeker*, p. 38.
[189] *Letters to the Ladies*, p. 105.
[190] Ibid, p. 100.
[191] B. Mandeville, *The Virgin Unmask'd* (London, 1709), p. 120.

As obesity was inscribed with negative cultural associations, thinness became increasingly fashionable, especially for women. From the 1760s the development of this fashion was supported by the growing 'cult of sensibility'. Indeed, in the last quarter of the century several conduct authors, such as Richard Polwhele and John Bennet, began to promote sentimental and 'girlish' versions of femininity, praising female timidity and delicacy. They also implicitly implied that the thin, youthful body embodied these sentimental 'feminine' virtues. Recognising the way society praised women who possessed fashionably slim figures, Bennet wrote: '*Fashion* has made it so much a matter of *form* to pay attentions to a woman…if she is smart, witty, beautiful; if she is celebrated for high connections, or accomplishment, or makes a good figure in publick.'[192]

Nonetheless, instead of applauding and endorsing society's veneration of the thin female body, several medical authors actively warned readers against excessive dieting and condemned the way conduct and beauty manual authors praised thinness. This was because such medical commentators felt that fashions for leanness had become too extreme and that in the pursuit of beauty many women were endangering their health. The popular writer and physician Thomas Beddoes was certainly of this opinion. He chiefly condemned 'writers of romance' (a book genre which was closely associated with new ideas of sensibility), who had popularised the appearance of the 'consumptive.' He wrote that such authors:

> (whether from ignorance or because it suits the tone of their narrative) exhibit the slow decline of the consumptive, as a state on which the fancy may agreeably repose, and in which not much more misery is felt, than is expressed by a blossom, nipped by untimely frosts.[193]

Accordingly, perceptions of the fat body became progressively negative during the eighteenth century, causing thinness to become fashionable. In spite of this, as is evidenced by Beddoes' assertions, it is important to note that this growing fashion for thinness was not without its opponents.

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[192] J. Bennet, *Letters to a Young Lady, on a Variety of Useful and Interesting Subjects* (Warrington, 1789), p. 171.

[193] T. Beddoes, *Essay on the Causes, Early Signs, and Prevention of Pulmonary Consumption for the Use of Parents and Preceptors* (Bristol, 1799), p. 4.

Body Size, Gender and Fertility

Weight and body size featured commonly in discussions concerning fertility during the eighteenth century. While for women fertility was thought to be indicated by plumpness, for men it was shown by bodily rigour, strength and hardness. This belief was grounded in the understanding that women's bodies were cold and moist, which made their fibres weak and fleshy, while male bodies were made up of hot and dry humours, making their bodies strong and hard. *Letters to the Ladies* stated:

> It is observed, in general, that women are more disposed to fatness than men: and the reason of this is obvious. For, besides that their fibres are originally of a more lax and delicate texture, and thereby yield more easily to an accumulation of juices, they perspire much less than the male sex. They are also less exercised to study, and hard labour, or exposed to the inclemencies of heat; all which are known to extenuate the body.[194]

In accordance with these views, if men or women displayed forms of corporeality that differed from these ideal body types, they were seen as being abnormal.

Being over or under weight was thought to cause fertility issues because the nourishment value of a person's diet, as evidenced by their body size, informed the quality of their 'seed'. In this way, problems with conception were thought to originate in the diet. This was especially true in the late seventeenth century when fluid conceptualisations of the body remained dominant in medical thought. The herbalist, physician and astrologer Nicholas Culpeper wrote in his *Directory for Midwives* that 'ill Blood cannot be made good Seed; and by this means Parents often come by the Death of their Infants, even in their Infancy, and know not of it.'[195] He explained:

> the liver cannot turn bad chyle into good blood; neither can the testicles convert bad blood into good seed, because the second concoction cannot amend the fault committed in the first, nor yet can the third amend the faults committed in the second.[196]

The Ladies Dictionary also attested that if a woman wished to improve her fertility she should, 'In her Diet', be 'careful and cautious, chusing such Meats as create

[194] *Letters to the Ladies*, p. 103.
[195] N. Culpeper, *A Directory for Midwives: or, a guide for Women, in their Conception, Bearing, and Suckling their Children,* newly corrected (London, 1701), p. 28. This text was first published in 1651 but henceforth it is this newly corrected edition that will be referenced.
[196] Ibid, p. 32.

wholesome Nourishment.'[197] As seed was thought to be converted aliment, monitoring what you ate was thus considered essential to ensure fertility.

Fat was also thought to disrupt the proper flow of the humours around the body. This was another cited cause of infertility. Irritably, the man-midwife Henry Bracken reported: 'Fat People are unwillingly persuaded to live sparingly, as may bring them to Leanness.' He added that if they did 'so effectually, they would then be convinced that their former Bulk was the occasion of their *Infecundity*.'[198] Le Camus also wrote that fat persons 'have a certain incapacity of Breeding, so that Women of that Complexion are commonly barren.'[199] Obesity was identified as a particularly common cause of infertility in elite women who ate luxurious foods. This understanding was used to support general criticisms of intemperate forms of luxurious consumption. 'It is very certain', Buchan stated, 'that high living vitiates the humours, and prevents fecundity.' He noted: 'We seldom find a barren woman among the labouring poor, while nothing is more common amongst the rich and affluent.' It was added: 'it would be an easy matter to adduce many instances of women who, by being reduced to live entirely upon a milk and vegetable diet, have conceived and brought forth children, though they never had any before.[200] Correspondingly, the sparse diet of the lower classes was thought to be the reason that they were rarely barren, and this sort of diet was therefore recommended as a cure for elite women's infertility.

If women were fat it was also thought to destroy the quality of their breast milk. This was because aliment was believed to be the original source of breast milk. *The Art of Nursing* explained: 'Milk is made of the Chyle, or that whitish Juice which is extracted from the Food in the Stomach.'[201] After this understanding, Culpeper recommended that a wet-nurse should be 'of a middle stature, fleshy, but not fat'.[202] The *Art of Nursing* repeated this advice, stating: 'tis necessary that she should…not be too fat; for the vessels of such women are straighter and contain less blood.'[203] Fat

[197] N. H., *The Ladies Dictionary* (London, 1742), p. 66.
[198] H. Bracken, *The Midwife's Companion; or, A Treatise of Midwifery* (London, 1737), p. 24.
[199] Le Camus, *Abdeker*, p. 32.
[200] Buchan, *Domestic Medicine*, p. 667.
[201] Anon., *The Art of Nursing; or, the Right Method of Bringing up Young Children* (London, 1733), p. 18.
[202] Culpeper, *Directory for Midwives*, p. 132.
[203] *The Art of Nursing*, p. 30.

women's breast milk was accordingly considered to lack nourishment insofar as the original aliment from which this milk was produced was thought to be of a weak nature (see chapter 5).

On the other hand, abnormal leanness was thought to signify fertility problems that were produced from non-dietary causes. This was particularly true in cases of male infertility. Leanness in men was generally thought to be caused by immoderate forms of sexual behaviour. It was noted in *Abdeker* that 'young Men, that are too much given to Women, have always a pale and disfigured Countenance.'[204] The French medical advice author Samuel Tissot also observed, in his influential anti-masturbation tract *Onania* (1766), that excessive masturbators could be identified by their wasted appearance. He noted: 'Our bodies suffer a continual waste, and if we could not repair this waste, we should soon sink into a state of mortal weakness.' He added that: 'Of all the causes which prevent nutrition, there are none, perhaps, more frequent than too copious evacuations.'[205] Wastage of seed was thus thought to cause wastage of the male body and ruin its procreative powers.

Tissot provided numerous examples of how wasting could occur as a result of excessive masturbation. He reported the case of one man who had applied to him for help after ruining his health with his masturbation habit. Tissot stated that on going to him he 'found a being that less resembled a living creature, than a corpse, lying upon straw, meagre, pale, and filthy, casting forth an infectious stench; almost incapable of motion.' It was added that 'it was with great difficulty he breathed, reduced almost to a skeleton.'[206] Similar observations were sometimes made in reference to women, although the observed bodily abnormalities in these instances were identified by fatness rather than thinness. Tissot said: 'I also know a young lady, of between twelve and thirteen years of age, who, by this detestable practice, has brought on a consumption, with a large hanging belly.'[207] Abnormal forms of sexual behaviour were thus believed to produce 'abnormal' male and female bodies.

[204] Le Camus, *Abdeker*, p. 40.
[205] S. Tissot, *Onanism; or a Treatise Upon the Disorders of Disorders Produced by Mastrubation* (London, 1766), p. 1. This work was originally published in French as *L'Onanisme* (1760).
[206] Ibid, p. 25.
[207] Ibid, p. 19.

Shape, Class and Nationality

Popular medical advice authors repeatedly instructed readers to vary their diet in correspondence with the environment in which they lived. This was because differences in air temperature and quality, altitude and soil quality, were believed to necessitate different sorts of diet. Those who lived in northern parts of Britain were advised to eat greater quantities of food than those who lived in the south. Cheyne remarked:

> Our Northern Climate…from the Purity and Coldness of the Air, which bracing the Fibres, makes the *Appetite* keener, and the Action of Digestion stronger; and form the Labour and Strength of the People, which makes the Expences of living more, will necessarily require a greater Quantity of Foods.[208]

Correspondingly, the cool rigorous climate in the north of Britain was thought to make the digestion of foods efficient, allowing people living in these areas to eat a large quantity and variety of foods and drinks.

'Northerners' were also praised on account of their simple diets and were used to exemplify the benefits of moderation by authors who advocated dietary temperance. Cheyne urged his readers to think about 'how fruitful the Scotch Highlanders are on their milk and oatmeal, and Native Irish on their potatoes and Milk.'[209] In another instance Cheyne discussed the findings of Dr Lister, who in his work detailed the lives of 'eight persons in the *North of England*, the youngest of which was above 100 Years, and the eldest 140.[210] Cheyne recorded that the reason these people had lived so long was because:

> the Food of all this mountainous Country is exceedingly coarse. And certainly there is no Place in the World more likely to lengthen out Life than *England*, especially those Parts of it, that have a free open Air, and gravelly and chalky Soil, if to due *Exercise*, *Abstemiousness*, and a plain and simple *Diet* were added.[211]

Likewise, Beddoes observed that as a result of their simple diets, people living in the north of Britain were immune from certain diseases. Illustrating this, he attested that

[208] Cheyne, *Essay of Health and Long Life*, p. 31.
[209] Ibid, p. 21.
[210] Ibid, p. 33.
[211] Ibid.

fishwives who lived and worked in Musselburgh who survived on simple diets almost never suffered from consumption.[212]

People who lived in the south of England, in contrast, were thought to be especially subject to ill-health. In his work Cheyne recounted the case of a man who had died at the grand old age of 152 years and 9 months. Despite this achievement, it was stated that this man might have lived a 'good while longer, if he had not changed his diet and air, coming out of clear, thin, free air, into the thick air of London.'[213] The 'untimely' death of this individual was said to have been due to the changes in diet that had accompanied his change of home. Cheyne stated:

> after a constant, plain and homely country diet, being taken into a splendid family, where he fed high, and drank plentifully of the best wines, whereby the natural functions of the parts were overcharged, and the habit of the whole body quite disordered; upon which there could not but soon ensue a dissolution.[214]

Hence, people living in London were told to avoid the luxurious foods and drinks that were offered in the city in accordance with the belief that the environment in which they lived was particularly unhealthy.

The effects of climatic exposure were also used to explain why the working classes, particularly those living in the countryside, more commonly exhibited figures that were considered 'desirable' than the elite. These assertions were particularly common in works from the second half of the century when obesity began to be identified as an elite 'disease'. Le Camus wrote: 'Labourers who work hard during the Heat of the Day, and live upon a coarse diet, are very seldom fat.'[215] Grosvenor made similar observations, praising the 'temperate' lives of the labouring country poor. He stated:

> Hence it is that one seldom sees in Cities, Courts, and rich Houses, where People eat, and drink, and indulge to the Pleasure of Appetite, that perfect Health and athletic Soundness of Vigour which is commonly seen in the Country, in the poor Houses and Cottages, where Nature is their Cook, and Necessity is their Caterer,

[212] Beddoes, *Essay on the Causes, Early Signs, and Prevention of Pulmonary Consumption*, p. 48.
[213] Cheyne, *An Essay of Health and Long Life*, pp. 32-34.
[214] Ibid, p. 33.
[215] Le Camus, *Abdeker*, p. 26.

> where they have no other Doctor but the Sun and the fresh Air, and no other Physic, but Exercise and Temperance.[216]

Authors who condemned luxurious consumption consequently presented the lower classes as being healthier than the upper classes to promote simple and temperate modes of life.

Climatic variations were also used to account for why some nations were characteristically thin and others fat. Several authors observed that people from northern Europe were fatter than those who lived closer to the sun. Fatima, the fictional Persian heroine of *Abdeker*, remarked: 'I have read in the Memoirs of some Travellers, that the Northern People are commonly too fat and too big, whereas those that live near the Sun are commonly too lean and wither'd.'[217] On the other hand, *Letters to the Ladies* observed: 'a thin habit of body is more universal in hot climates, than in those which are cold and temperate.'[218] This situation was thought to occur because the food produced in cooler climes was particularly nourishing. In *Abdeker* it was proposed that the Northern provinces in Europe often made too much use of 'Beer, thick Wine, and Liquors that contain too much Nourishment'. In opposition, those who lived in hot areas were thought to be skinny on account of how much they perspired. For example, it was reasoned in *Abdeker* that the differences in the size of southern and northern Europeans 'depend[ed] on the Perspiration.'[219]

However, it was noted that national differences in body size were sometimes owing to cultural preferences. *Letters to the Ladies* wrote at length about the way the Egyptian's venerated fatness. It proposed: 'There is no part of the world where the art of altering the habit of the body is so definitively cultivated as at Cairo.' The author also remarked: 'It is no uncommon thing in Egypt to see women of so enormous a bulk that they can hardly move; so that they are generally confined to their bed.' This situation was said to occur because the 'Egyptians love women mostly on account of their fatness'. It was added that women in this country studied 'methods of rendering themselves as bulky as possible', much in the same way that European ladies

[216] Grosvenor, *Health,* p. 219.
[217] Le Camus, *Abdeker*, p. 26.
[218] *Letters to the Ladies*, p. 97.
[219] Le Camus, *Abdeker*, p. 26.

preoccupied themselves with 'improving the complexion.'[220] Similarly, *Abdeker* proposed: 'the Eastern Women do not endeavour to mend their Shapes by using Garments that are too strait.'[221]

Several satirical commentators also observed that a round belly was an important feature of English national identity. The satirical personification of England, John Bull, with his big, overhanging belly and love of beef, is perhaps the best illustration of this understanding. Evidencing the plethora of associations between beef, excessive consumption, a wide belly and rustic notions of English masculinity, in his *The Secret History of Clubs* (1709), a fictional satire which poked fun at London's growing associational culture, Ned Ward recorded the following poem that was apparently read out to members of the 'Beef-stake Club' before the commencement of their meal. It was written:

> Of all Provision, Beef's the best
> To please an English Palat,
> Especially a Steak well drest,
> And season'd right with Shallot
> Beef swells our Muscles, fills our Veins,
> Does e'ery Way improve us,
> Strengthens our Sinews, and our Reins,
> And makes the Ladies love us.[222]

It was added that the members of this society believed that beef, 'gave a more masculine Grace, and sounded better in the Title of a true English club' than any other word.[223] This evidence suggests that the excessive consumption of beef was closely tied to notions of English masculinity during the eighteenth century, despite the way commentators identified luxurious consumption as a source of ill-health and a sign of 'impoliteness'.

[220] *Letters to the Ladies*, p. 97.
[221] Le Camus, *Abdeker*, p. 34
[222] E. Ward, *The Secret History of Clubs* (London, 1709), pp. 384-5.
[223] Ibid, p. 388.

Conclusion

This examination of discussions concerning abdominal experience has demonstrated that understandings of digestion and practices of consumption were radically transformed in Britain between 1650 and 1800, altering the meanings attached to the body's size and shape. Whilst at the beginning of the period plumpness was viewed as a sign of health, wealth and status, over the course of the century fatness was progressively seen as a disease, causing thinness to become increasingly fashionable. Despite these general trends, it has also been shown that contradictions existed throughout the century, regarding what popular authors presented as appropriate forms of consumption and people's actual behaviour. On the one hand, this situation occurred because there was continual tension in elite society between the external display of wealth and status through luxurious consumption and the demonstration of 'polite' manners through dietary temperance and moderation. However, these contradictions were also owing to the way popular authors presented consumption as a personal matter demanding self-regulation. This chapter has thus demonstrated that in the eighteenth century the stomach was conceptualised as an important site of self-fashioning where individuals negotiated the relationship between their own body and society.

2. Skin

Introduction

The skin, or the flexible continuous covering that protects our internal organs from the external environment, is one of the most highly visible, complex and contradictory parts of the human body. Firstly, in a physiological sense, no part of the body can boast as many diverse or important roles as the skin. This is because the integumentary system of the skin not only shields our bodies from the dangers of the external environment, but also allows us to sense, touch, feel and respond to the world we inhabit.[224] Along with its complex physiological roles, the skin has many equally complicated social meanings as the embodied frontier through which we negotiate the crossings between the 'self' and society.[225] The skin consequently represents important embodied terrain where issues concerning the relationship between the body and society, and the construction of 'personal identity', are negotiated.

Historians have slowly come to recognise the significance of changing understandings of the skin in discourses relating to identity formation in the eighteenth century. Gender historians were the first scholars to 'stumble across' the importance of the skin in the construction of identity. Phrases such as 'skin-deep' and 'beneath the skin' have repeatedly been used within this scholarship to refer to the 'discovery' of sexual difference in the internal structure of the body.[226] Laqueur, for one, argues that the identification of 'male' and 'female' as two opposite and incommensurable biological sexes was heralded by the development of sexually comparative forms of anatomical investigation which enabled physicians and anatomists to document 'the fact that sexual difference was more than skin-deep'.[227]

The idea of the skin as a boundary has also been evoked within gender studies to distinguish the cultural category of 'gender' from the 'biological' determinant of sex. This is because the concept of the skin as a boundary has frequently been used in this scholarship to figuratively describe a theoretical separation between 'sex' and

[224] N. Jablonski, *Skin: A Natural History* (Los Angeles & London, 2006), pp. 1-2.
[225] Porter, *Bodies Politic,* p. 35.
[226] B. Duden, *The Woman Beneath the Skin: A Doctor's Patients in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (London, 1991); L. Schiebinger, *The Mind has No Sex? Women in the Origins of Modern Science* (Harvard, 1989).
[227] Laqueur, *Making Sex*, p. 157.

'gender', with the social category of 'gender' being associated with the external display of the body, and 'sex', in opposition, its internal anatomical structure. Therefore, studies of 'sex' and 'gender', while not explicitly examining the creation of these categories in reference to discourses relating to the skin, have implicitly revealed its importance as a theoretical boundary.

Despite gender historians' valuable contributions, demonstration that the skin represents an important subject of analysis in its own right has been most clearly shown by historians of race. *Complexions of Race* details the changing social meanings of 'black' and 'white' skin from 1650 to 1800, and the incorporation of these associations into newly constructed categories of racial difference.[228] Through this analysis Wheeler illustrates how narratives which described, explained and codified the meanings attached to skin colouration informed how people were judged in accordance with their external appearance. She also shows that the cultural meanings attached to skin colour are historically variable and dependant on the context in which they are constructed.

Recently, a third strand of scholarship has introduced the issue of personal agency into the debate by exploring how individuals viewed the appearance of the skin and manipulated the associations attached to it as a means of displaying their 'personal identity'. Working upon this understanding, Susan Staves shows that while most people considered pox-marks shameful as they were thought to indicate sexual impropriety, a 'few bold libertines' displayed them as 'badges of honour'.[229] This research has thus demanded a re-formulation of the idea that associations between the external appearance of the skin and categories such as gender, race, and class were rigidly 'imposed' forms of social distinction. This is because it has shown that although aspects of the skin's external appearance may have been 'defining', contemporaries manipulated these associations to present themselves in ways that fitted their own ends.

This chapter examines how the skin was presented as a boundary between the 'inner' and 'outer' body, and how individual identity was perceived in relation to the appearance of the skin. At the outset it examines how the skin's structure and its

[228] Wheeler, *The Complexions of Race,* p. 37.
[229] S. Staves, 'The Puzzle of the Pox-Marked Body', in Reeves (ed.), *A Cultural History of the Body*, p. 155.

corporeal boundaries were re-defined with reference to anatomical and medical developments occurring in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It continues by outlining the meanings that were attached to aspects of the skin's colour or 'complexion'. The analysis then looks at how aesthetic cultural preferences for particular forms of skin colouration were informed by the 'polite' social values of the elite, and the role that skin colour played in the construction of systems of inclusion and exclusion within this culture. Finally, it concludes by exploring the meanings attached to the texture of the skin and markings that appeared on its surface. This chapter will illustrate that while in the first half of the century the appearance of the skin was generally seen as a reflection of personal character, health and temperament, from 1750 it was presented as evidence of various corporeally informed social distinctions.

A Shifting Anatomical Boundary

In his thought-provoking work *The Book of Skin* (2004), Steven Connor demonstrates that in ancient Greek and Roman cultures the skin played an essential role as the entity that ensured the integrity of the body and 'self'.[230] Investigation of instances of dissection, autopsy and practices of corporeal punishment in the Middle Ages evidences the persistence of this understanding of the skin as the 'body' itself in later centuries. Katherine Park argues that dissection was a practice regarded with deep suspicion at this time because this objectification of the body was believed an affront to personal honour.[231] Other scholars have also shown that representations of corporeal punishments which transgressed the boundary of the skin, such as flaying, were used to symbolically represent the individual being literally 'stripped' of their identity.[232] This suggests that prior to the sixteenth century the skin was perceived as a barrier that protected the integrity of the body.

Despite the persistence of the belief that cutting open the skin was abhorrent, anatomical developments occurring in the early modern period challenged cultural

[230] S. Connor, *The Book of Skin* (London, 2004), p. 10.
[231] K. Park, 'The Criminal and the Saintly Body: Autopsy and Dissection in Renaissance Italy,' *The Renaissance Quarterly*, 47 (1994), pp. 1-33.
[232] D. Bohde, 'Skin and the Search for the Interior: The Representation of Flaying in the Art and Anatomy of the Cinquecento', in F. Egmond & R. Zwijnenberg (eds), *Bodily Extremities: Preoccupations with the Human Body in Early Modern Culture* (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 10-48.

anxieties about its transcendence as anatomists demonstrated that direct examination of the body beneath the skin could provide the key to improving medical knowledge. Yet, whilst the anatomical process corroded the traditionally sanctified status of the skin, it also provided possibilities for the examination of its structure and physiological roles. Illustrating this, in his *Anatomia Humani Corporis* (1685), an anatomical atlas which depicted the structures of the body's different parts, the Dutch anatomist Govaert Bidloo provided detailed illustrations of the skin's structure. This sort of imagery was revolutionary as it revealed that the skin was not a flat membrane, but a complex multi-dimensional structure that comprised of an intricate interwoven set of membranes, glands, pores, and hair ducts. These discoveries raised new questions about what the specific functions of each of these different parts of the skin were and how they were connected with one another.

These were certainly questions that the physician Daniel Turner sought to address in his book *De Morbis Cutaneis: A Treatise of Diseases Incident to the Skin* (1714), the first work with a singular emphasis on the skin published in English. In this text Turner revised traditional interpretations of the skin's roles in accordance with its new understanding as a multi-dimensional, textured structure. He explicitly stated that the purpose of his work was not to give a general description of the skin, like earlier authors, but instead to advance: 'One that is more exact and anatomical.' Firstly, Turner distinguished the skin from the other membranes that surrounded the body. He stated that as an independent entity the skin comprised of only two layers: the *cuticula* or 'scarf-skin' and a deeper membrane called the *cutis*.[233] Turner also articulated his desire to advance Bidloo's discoveries by instructively delineating the 'Make and Texture' of the skin through an investigation of the structural relationships between its different parts. In so doing, Turner highlighted the complexity of the surface structure of the skin's membranes. He stated:

> By the Assistance of the Microscope…the *Cuticula* appears composed of diverse *strata* or Beds of Scales, fastened to the Papillary Substance of the Skin, and are so entangled with each other, as that they appear a continued Pellicle or Membrane, when raised from the true Skin.[234]

[233] D. Turner, *De Morbis Cutaneis: A Treatise of Diseases Incident to the Skin* (London, 1714), p. ii.
[234] Ibid, p. iii.

Recognition that the skin represented a complex textured membrane led to a growing appreciation of the skin's permeability in medical thought. The skin was increasingly imagined as an embodied frontier that allowed information about the body's external surroundings to be conveyed to the mind. The philosopher Edmund Burke certainly remarked that the anatomist 'who discovers the use of the muscles and of the skin' must be satisfied to find that 'the excellent contrivance' of the skin was at once 'a general covering' and 'a general outlet, as well as inlet.'[235]

Touch and feeling were presented as essential aspects of the connection between the mind and physical environment. Turner identified the 'Medium of the touch' as the first of the skin's 'chiefest Uses'.[236] The newly 'discovered' nervous system assumed a central role in the way physicians imagined this relationship. Cheyne proposed that the nerves conveyed information about things sensed by the skin to the mind, which then stimulated appropriate physiological responses in the body. He explained:

> the Nerves are Bundles of *solid, springy*, and *elastick* Threads or *Filaments*… whose one *Extremity* is terminated at the *common Sensory* in the *Brain*, where the *Soul* is supposed to reside; the *other* is interwoven into every Point of the Scarf-skin…in order to convey the *Motions*, *Actions, Vibrations*, or *Impulses* of outward *Objects* to the *Soul*.[237]

The more '*springy, lively* and *elastic*' the fibres, Cheyne further attested, the stronger the sensation sent to the mind. It was for this reason, he added, that 'Men of *Imagination* are generally given to *sensual* Pleasure, because the Objects of *Sense* yield *them* a more delicate *Touch*, and a livelier *Sensation*, than they do *others*.'[238]

As a result of the imagined connection between the skin and the inner body, the appearance of the skin was believed to encode information about the balance of the humours within the body. Andry proposed that this situation occurred because, as the skin was a 'very thin and transparent' membrane, it enabled the 'Colour of the Skin to appear through it, in the same manner as Objects appear through a Glass'.[239] Of a

[235] E. Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (London, 1757), p. 87.
[236] Ibid, p. ii.
[237] Cheyne, *Essay of Health and Long Life,* pp. 185-6.
[238] Ibid, p. 159.
[239] Andry, *Orthopædia*, vol. 1, p. 61.

similar understanding, Turner observed that 'Of its own Nature' the skin was white, 'yet by the Reason of the Humours underneath, it varies its Complexion.'[240]

In the first instance, the colour of the skin was recognised to vary between different social actors in relation to their humoural differences. For example, as men were thought to be essentially hot and dry, they were thought to possess naturally 'ruddier' complexions than women, who were believed to be 'naturally' pale on account of the dominance of wet and cold humours in their bodies. Turner wrote that 'the most common marks of a hot and dry temperament' were 'rough, brown, hairy skin', while a cold and moist complexion was denoted by the appearance of 'soft, white, smooth skin.'[241] This same understanding was used to explain variations between the complexions of people from different parts of the globe. Turner explained that Ethiopians and Egyptians were both dark skinned because the hot regions in which they lived stimulated the production of hot and dry humours.[242]

Secondly, skin colour was believed to evidence information about a person's humoural temperament. Mackenzie observed that when 'bile or phlegm prevails in the fluids, the complexion corresponds with the prevailing humour.'[243] Accordingly, it was believed that melancholic people, who had a humoural excess of black-bile, could be recognised by their swarthy skin and dark hair, whilst those who were phlegmatic could be identified by their pale and wan complexions. Turner also proposed that the skin appeared 'in the Sanguine, Red' and in 'the Phlegmatic and Cachectic, pale and wan.'[244] In this medical model the skin was thus presented as a visibly permeable boundary through which the humoural 'temperament' of an individual could be perceived.

During the first half of the eighteenth century authors also began to discuss the role of the pores in allowing substances to pass in and out of the skin through the processes of dilation and contraction. Turner noted that one of the skin's most essential tasks was letting 'superfluous Humours' pass through its 'Pores'.[245] New medical interest in the pores was directly related to the way that advocates 'cool

[240] Turner, *Treatise of Diseases Incident to the Skin,* p. i.
[241] Ibid, pp. 181-2.
[242] Ibid.
[243] Mackenzie, *A History of Health,* p. 359.
[244] Turner, *Treatise of Diseases Incident to the Skin*, p. i.
[245] Ibid*,* p. ii.

regimen' drew attention to the influence of air upon the body (see chapter 1). In his treatise on the non-naturals, the physician John Burton observed that the pores allowed the body to absorb 'Vapours floating in the Air'.[246] Other physicians also identified the obstruction of the pores as a cause of disease. Short proposed that one of the causes of 'corpulency' was the inability of air to pass freely through the pores. He specifically asserted that city air 'promotes Corpulency more than a clear, fresh, and sharp Country Air, because the Heat, and many different Exhalations in a City load and weaken the Spring and Motion of the Air'.[247] Pores were consequently thought to play an essential role in maintaining health as they allowed air to enter the body, while also enabling the skin to secrete dangerous and noxious substances.

In the first half of the century the active management of the skin's boundary, by encouraging the dilation or contraction of the pores, became a popular form of treatment for a myriad of ills. Cheyne was one commentator who advised his patients that a good way to remove noxious substances from their bodies was bathing in hot water. He attested that as 'most *Chronical* Distempers are attended with want of due *Perspiration*', hot water bathing, which encouraged liquids to be 'suck'd in, and attracted thro' the Skin, into the returning *Veins*', was of the utmost use as it would 'wash off *Obstructions* of the small Vessels, to thin, and dilute the Blood, and *Glandular* Juices, to warm, enliven, actuate and nourish the wasted, and decay'd parts.'[248]

In the final decades of the century the idea of the skin as a porous boundary was replaced by a new medical paradigm in which the skin was considered detached from the inner body.[249] The apothecary John Gowland certainly noted his irritation at the way physicians had previously treated skin diseases. In his *Essay on Skin* (1792), a text primarily written to advertise the uses of his cosmetic wash Gowland's Lotion, Gowland observed that: 'Cutaneous Eruptions, although an affection so very general, an affection, common to all ages, all constitutions, all cities and countries, have, from

[246] J. Burton, *Treatise on the Non-Naturals, and their Influence on Human Bodies* (York, 1738), p. 28.
[247] Short, *Discourse Concerning the Causes and Effects of Corpulency*, p. 12.
[248] G. Cheyne, *An Essay of the True Nature and Due Method of Treating the Gout*, 4th edition (London, 1722), p. 58.
[249] Connor, *The Book of Skin*, p. 26.

the enlightened, received little more than mere theoretical discussion'.[250] He reported that this was because of the erroneous emphasis that physicians had previously placed on the relationship between the skin and the inner body. 'Every one' before him, he noted, 'seemed sure' that skin diseases were caused by 'a vice…in the blood…which, when carried to the surface of the body, produced morbific appearances'.[251]

In opposition, Gowland identified skin diseases as owing to 'a local affection, produced by a depraved and altered secretion of the extreme arterial vessels, or, the cutaneous glands'.[252] He added that while skin diseases were at least in part caused by disorders of the mind or inner body, '*the action* of the *atmosphere*', which disturbed 'the functions of the skin', had an even greater influence.[253] That is, Gowland urged physicians to re-focus their efforts on discovering the external causes of skin ailments and their specific instances on different areas of the skin. Hence, as physicians rejected holistic humoural explanations for the causes of diseases incident to the skin, the skin was increasingly imagined as a mediating structure for disease that needed to be examined as a site of malady in its own right.[254]

Complexion

The term most commonly employed to refer to the external colouration of the skin in the eighteenth century was 'complexion.' Samuel Johnson endorsed this definition in his *Dictionary* (1755) where he defined 'complexion' as 'the colour of the external parts of the body.'[255] At this time the vocabulary used to describe the 'complexion' of skin was extremely rich, ranging from wan, pale, and white, through to sandy, olive, tawny, reddish, swarthy, adust and black.[256] Andry noted: 'The Colour of the *Epidermis* is that which makes the Complexion. In most People it is white, in some tawny, in others of an olive Colour, and in others black'.[257] In different discursive contexts this

[250] J. Gowland, *Essay on Cutaneous Diseases and All Impurities of the Skin* (London, 1792), p. 3.
[251] Ibid, p. 4.
[252] Ibid.
[253] Ibid, pp. 20-1.
[254] Connor, *The Book of Skin*, p. 26.
[255] S. Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language* (London, 1755). Henceforth all references from Johnson's *Dictionary* will be taken from this edition of the text.
[256] Gowing, 'Marked Bodies and Social Meanings', p. 144; 'Adust' meaning 'from aduro, to burn; signifier such Humours as by long Heat become of a hot and fiery Nature, as Choler, and the like', definition from J. Quincy, *Lexicon Physico-Medicum; or, A New Medical Dictionary*, 2nd edition (London, 1722).
[257] Andry, *Orthopædia*, vol. 1, p. 61.

terminology had a range of connotations, in some cases being used in conjunction with a description of an individual's race, gender or class, and in others, their health or character.

To understand why this terminology had so many different meanings, it is necessary to investigate the different usages of the word 'complexion' in popular discourse in the first half of the century. Firstly, as in the way defined by Johnson, 'complexion' specifically denoted the colour of the skin. The artist William Hogarth explained in his treatise on aesthetics, *The Analysis of Beauty* (1753), that:

> The cutis is composed of tender threads like a network, fill'd with different colour'd juices. The white juice serves to make the very fair complexion; --yellow, makes the brunet;--brownish yellow, the ruddy brown;--green yellow, the olive;--dark brown, the mulatto; --black, the negro;--These different colour'd juices, together with the different *mashes* of the network, and the size of its threads in this or that part, causes the variety of complexions.[258]

In this mode, 'complexion' was most commonly discussed in conjunction with descriptions of the distinctive forms of skin colouration displayed by people of different national or racial origins. The popular educational treatise *A Museum for Young Gentlemen and Ladies* (1750) was one work which sought to highlight the differences between people from specific parts of the world through a coloured description of their 'complexions'. It was stated that while the 'Tartars' were of 'an Olive Complexion' and Indians were for 'the most Part Tawny', the natives of Guiney were 'counted the blackest of all the Negroes.'[259]

In spite of this, coloured descriptions of the 'complexion' were rarely used alone to identify an individual's race or nationality in the first half of the century. Rather, descriptions of people's skin colour were frequently accompanied by explicit references to their nationality or ethnicity. In *The Tatler,* an ancestor of the narrator Sir Isaac Bickerstaff was described as having a 'very swarthy complexion, not unlike a Portuguese Jew.'[260] Similarly, in an article condemning the slave trade in *The Spectator*, a reference to the race of a woman described was singularly used to denote the colour of her complexion. One English slave owner, it was noted, had: 'among his

[258] W. Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty* (London, 1753), p. 134.
[259] Anon., *A Museum for Young Gentlemen and Ladies* (London, 1750), p. 109, p.114, p. 123.
[260] J. Addison & R. Steele, *The Tatler*, No. 75 (1st October 1709).

Negroes had a young Woman, who was look'd upon as a most extraordinary Beauty by those of her own Complexion.'[261]

This discursive situation occurred because coloured skin terminology was regularly used to describe people who had a 'white' complexion. Indeed, in many popular texts 'white' Europeans were described as having 'black' complexions. Addison asserted: 'If I write any Thing on a black Man, I run over in my Mind all the eminent Persons in the Nation who are of that Complection…that it may not bear any Resemblance to one that is real'.[262] In another issue of *The Spectator* the narrator noted: 'a Reader seldom peruses a book with Pleasure, ''till he knows whether the Writer of it be a black or a fair Man, of a mild or Cholerick Disposition.'[263] These examples, where the word 'black' was used to describe members of polite society who presumably did not have 'black' skin, thus suggest that this term referred to a dark-haired, or darker-skinned, white-European. Correspondingly, what 'types' of appearance coloured terminology referred to largely depended on the context in which they were discursively employed.

This evidence suggests that the word 'complexion' had a multitude of different meanings beyond describing the skin's colour. In the instances outlined above, the word 'complexion' and the referents used to describe its colouration appear to have been employed to describe a person's personality attributes as informed by their humoural 'temperament' (see chapter 1). Other examples from *The Spectator* evidence this meaning of the word 'complexion' more explicitly. In one issue the narrator pitied a man who complained of his inability to tell a story without embellishment, proposing that it seemed that the correspondent was simply 'a Person of too warm a Complexion to be satisfied with things simply as they stood in Nature.'[264] In another article it was remarked: 'The Man of great Heart and a serious Complexion, is more pleased with Instances of Generosity and Pity, than the light and ludicrous Spirit can possibly be with the highest Strains of Mirth and Laughter'.[265]

[261] *The Spectator,* No. 215 (6th November 1711).
[262] Ibid, No. 262 (31st December 1711).
[263] Ibid, No. 1 (1st March 1711).
[264] Ibid, No. 167 (11th September 1711).
[265] Ibid, No. 208 (28th September 1711).

There was also an assumed relationship between the colouration of the skin and a person's moral character. The Irish physician, historian and playwright Oliver Goldsmith remarked that: 'a fair complexion seems, if I may so express it, as a transparent covering to the soul; all the variations of the passions, even expression of joy or sorrow, flows through the cheek, and, without language, marks the mind.'[266] In a similar fashion, Bland proposed that when looking at a 'virtuous and industrious Woman', the observer should be pleased to 'Behold her fair and sanguine Complection, as well as her pleasant Aspect, and smiling Countenance'.[267] Also being of this understanding, Essex advised his female readers to cultivate a good tempered countenance as he cautioned that an enraged or irritable temper would bring a 'disagreeable Sourness to the whole Countenance.' He added:

> it makes the Lines too strong, and flushes the Face worse than Brandy; I have seen it overspread with heat Spots, as a Lady has been chiding of her Servant for Breaking of a Glass, or Pinning her Manteau awry; and indeed never knew any Angry Woman preserve her Beauty long.[268]

This evidence suggests that in the first half of the eighteenth century the 'complexion' of the skin was seen as a reflection of a person's humoural temperament and character.

'Beautiful' Complexions

Alongside its significance as an indicator of 'inner' character, the colour of the complexion was seen as an important attribute of beauty. In *A Philosophical Inquiry in to our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (1757), Burke discussed the varying qualities of colour in reference to beauty. Influenced by contemporary Rococo styles which were associated with creamy pastel colours, Burke specifically emphasised the beauty of colours that were muted, clear and fair. He asserted:

> First, the colours of beautiful bodies must not be dusky of muddy, but clean and fair. Secondly, they must not be of the strongest kind. Those which seem most appropriated to beauty, are the milder of every sort; light greens; soft blues;

[266] O. Goldsmith, *An History of the Earth, and Animated Nature*, 8 vols. (London, 1774-90), vol. 2, p. 232.
[267] Bland, *Essay in Praise of Women*, pp. 39- 40.
[268] Essex, *The Young Ladies Conduct*, p. 12.

> weak whites; pink reds; and violets. Thirdly, if the colours be strong and vivid, they are always diversified, and the object is never of one strong colour.[269]

Burke also used skin colouration as a key exemplar of how beauty was displayed through colour. He proposed:

> In a fine complexion, there is not only some variety in the colouring, but the colours; neither the red nor the white are strong and glaring. Besides, they are mixed in such a manner, and with such gradations, that is it impossible to fix the bounds.[270]

The colour of the complexion was presented as a critical means of displaying beauty in a range of beauty manuals and didactic texts. It was asserted in *The Art of Beauty*: 'There is nothing so charming as a lively and wholesome complexion, which in a great measure answers the end of beautiful features'.[271] *Abdeker* proffered reasons why skin colour was the chief ornament of beauty. The text began: 'I am now going to speak of a Thing that is the most essential to our Subject, as it is the first that makes an Impression upon the Eye. It is the Colour of the Skin'.[272] This suggests that the colouration of the skin was considered a defining feature of corporeal beauty, with reference to its aesthetic qualities and imagined ease of perception. The social commentator Joseph Spence emphatically expressed this sentiment in his essay 'Crito; or, A Dialogue on Beauty' (1752), in which he asserted: 'THO' Color be the lowest of all the constituent Parts of Beauty, yet it is vulgarly the most striking, and the most observed. For which there is a very obvious Reason to be given; that "everybody can see, and very few can judge"' (for further discussion see chapter 3).[273]

From the end of the seventeenth century, a white, clear or 'fair' complexion was repeatedly described as the most beautiful. In the beauty manual and cosmetic recipe book *Artificiall Embellishments* (1665), the forehead was described as 'the Ivory

[269] Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry,* pp. 102-3.
[270] Ibid, p. 103.
[271] *The Art of Beauty*, p. 25.
[272] Le Camus, *Abdeker,* p. 62.
[273] J. Spence, 'Crito: or, A Dialogue on Beauty' in *Fugitive Pieces, on Various Subjects,* 2 vols. (London, 1761), pp. 9. 'Crito' was first printed in octavo by George Faulkner in Dublin and then for Robert Dodsely in London in 1753. Henceforth, it is the version of Spence's essay that appeared in *Fugitive Pieces* (1761) that will be referenced.

throne where Beauty sits in state.'[274] Comparable assertions were made in eighteenth-century beauty manuals where white or pale complexions were applauded in contrast to those which were yellow, tawny, red, brown, adust or black. It was said in *The Art of Beauty*: 'The colour of the parts is one of the articles that Nature should observe in the composition of a handsome body; and, if a fair skin is a perfection, one that is brown, yellowish, and covered with freckles, is to be accounted ugly'.[275]

While fair coloured skin was celebrated, skin that was too pale was repeatedly described as a deformity. Accordingly, beauty manuals provided instruction for readers on how to 'beautifie a white and pallid complexion'.[276] In contrast, commentators repeatedly stated that the most beautiful complexions were those that were 'lively' or 'blooming'. By this terminology it appears that such authors were referring to skin that was white but which also displayed a balance of red and pink hues. It was stated in *The Art of Beauty*: 'A white skin, whose surface is spread over with the colour of roses, is reckoned to be the most perfect and agreeable, as to what regards its colour'.[277] Spence also asserted that a beautiful complexion was 'a fine Red, beautifully intermixed and incorporated with White; and diffused, in its due Proportions, through each Part of the Body'.[278]

Another reason why a 'fair' complexion was considered favourable was due to the connections between 'fairness' and 'politeness'. This is evidenced in the vast variety of different meanings attached to the term 'fair' in this period. In his *Dictionary* Johnson identified no less than sixteen definitions of this word which all referred to it either as a form of colouration, feature of beauty, or moral quality. In the first and second instances, as a type of skin colouration or feature of beauty, fair was defined as 'Beautiful; elegant of feature; handsome', 'Not black; not brown; white in the complexion' and 'Pleasing to the eye; beautiful in general.' Nevertheless, the majority of its definitions referred to it as a word used to describe moral qualities. These included: 'Clear; pure', 'Favourable; prosperous', 'Likely to succeed', 'Equal; just', 'Open; direct', 'Gentle; mild', 'Pleasing; civil', and 'Commodious; easy'. Accordingly,

[274] T. Jeamson*, Artificall Embellishments or Arts Best Directions How to Preserve Beauty or Procure it* (Oxford, 1665), p. 89.
[275] *The Art of Beauty*, p. 2.
[276] Jeamson*, Artificall Embellishments,* p. 16.
[277] *The Art of Beauty*, p. 15.
[278] Spence, 'Crito'*,* pp. 9-10.

'fair' was a term that not only referred to the colour of the complexion, but also a variety of moral characteristics that were directly associated with politeness.

Skin Colour and Social Difference

While curiously not identified by Johnson, in the eighteenth century the word 'fair' had a particularly strong association with women who were commonly referred to as the 'fair sex'. The phrase the 'fair sex' seems to have been employed to imply associations between women and the moral qualities to which 'fair' referred. In polite society women were certainly thought to be more 'polite' and sociable than men and, as such, were perceived as the moralising element of society. The Scottish philosopher James Forrester told men in his conduct book *The Polite Philosopher* (1736): 'As [women] are distinguished from the robust Make of *Man* by that *Delicacy*, express'd by *Nature*, in their *Form*, the Severity of masculine Sense is softened by a *Sweetness* peculiar to the *Female Soul'*.[279] The term the 'fair sex' thus appears to have referred to women's assumed moral characteristics.

Nevertheless, evidence suggests that elite women were also expected to be physically 'fairer' in complexion than men. Bland stated: '*Woman*, you know, is of all the Creatures, the most fair and beautiful.'[280] Women were expected to have fair coloured skin for, as this sort of complexion was considered the most 'beautiful', it was thought only proper for the most 'beautiful' sex to have skin of this complexion. Illustrating this, one text noted that when a woman displayed a 'swarthy skin' and 'a cloudy, sullen and sour aspect', it plainly indicated 'a great Disorder in the Mind, and that her soul is as unlovely as her Body is.'[281] Besides this, conduct books and beauty manuals aimed at women placed a much greater emphasis on the importance of displaying a 'fair' complexion than didactic texts aimed at men. Andry certainly warned young girls to protect themselves from the dangers of the sun, going so far as to recommend that they did not leave the house without a mask and gloves.[282] For

[279] J. Forrester, *The Polite Philosopher* (London, 1734), p. 50.
[280] Bland, *An Essay in Praise of Women*, p. 68.
[281] Anon., *Look e're You Leap; or, A History of the Lives and Intrigues of Lewd Women*, 10th edition (London, 1720), p. 47.
[282] Andry, *Orthopædia*, vol. 2, p. 120.

women dark coloured skin was thus considered a deformity because the display of 'fair' skin was considered a key corporeal expression of femininity.

Conversely, the possession of a 'fair' complexion was rarely cited as a good quality in a man. Instead, men were continually warned that if they displayed skin that was too fair or pale, it was likely to be seen as a deformity. 'Young Men, that are too much given to Women', proposed *Abdeker*, 'have always a pale and disfigured Countenance.'[283] In *Onania,* Tissot similarly proposed that 'licentious masturbators' could be easily identified by their 'pale and sallow' looks.[284] The reason for this belief was because excessive loss of male 'seed' was thought to draw nourishment away from the skin to the genitals and disrupt the correct flow of the humours around the body (see chapter 1).

Another associated reason why pale skin was considered a deformity in a man was revealed in an issue of *The Spectator*. This article featured a letter from a correspondent who had recently been riding in the countryside on a beautiful evening and had seen a very 'queer' sight. When upon the road, he recounted, he had happened upon a group of horsemen. He explained that one of the men had caught his attention because 'His Features, Complexion, and Habit, had a remarkable Effeminacy, and a certain languishing Vanity appeared in his Air.' The man went on to explain that after 'pitying the Luxury of this young Person, who appeared to men to have been educated only as an Object of Sight', he was shocked to discover than the person was not a man at all, but rather a 'fair *Amazon*'.[285] In this manner, the display of a fair complexion was considered a sign of effeminacy in a man as it was thought to be produced by too much vanity and luxury, character traits that deviated from contemporary notions of masculinity.

Commentators acknowledged that residents of the town and country also displayed different coloured complexions. Authors repeatedly stated that country people displayed complexions that were clearer, brighter and fairer than those who lived in the city, with even a certain 'rudiness' being considered an attribute. The greater clarity of air and better quality of food produce in these regions was cited as

[283] Le Camus, *Abdeker,* p. 40.
[284] S. Tissot, *Onania* (London, 1766), p. 27.
[285] *The Spectator*, No. 104 (29th June 1711).

the cause of these better sorts of complexion. The American writer Samuel Stanhope Smith endorsed the belief that the more fertile the region, the better the complexion of its residents. He stated:

> I have been assured by a most judicious and careful observer that the difference between the people in the eastern, and those in the western countries in Scotland, is sensible and striking. The farmers who cultivate the fertile countries of the Lothian's have a fairer complexion, and a better figure, than those who live in the west, and obtain a more coarse and scanty subsistence from a barren soil.[286]

In contrast, it was remarked that city dwellers, particularly those who lived in London, were recognisable by their 'languid sallow looks'.[287] The polluted air and poorer quality food available in the cities were thought to be the main causes of such 'ugly' complexions. Tobias Smollet, in *Humphry Clinker* (1771), presented London as a dirty, polluted place where 'they have discharged the natural colour from their bread, their butchers-meat, and poultry, their cutlets, ragouts, fricassees, and sauces of all kinds; so they must insist upon having the complexion of their pot-herbs mended, even at the hazard of their lives'.[288]

Likewise, there were clearly demarked associations between class and the colour of the complexion. Andry wrote: 'For Country People, who are exposed all their Life to the Sun, contract a tawny Complexion, which it is impossible to correct.'[289] Largely because of the greater time they spent outdoors, the lower classes were expected to have darker and swarthier coloured skin than the elites. Yet, around the middle of the century, some commentators began to opinion that these distinctions were caused by fundamental embodied differences. David Hume remarked: 'The skin, pores, and muscles of a day-labourer are different from those of a man of quality'.[290] Stanhope Smith also observed that the lower classes tended to be darker skinned that the elites. He wrote:

> The poor and labouring part of the community are usually more swarthy and squalid in their complexion, more hard in their features…They want the delicate

[286] S. Stanhope Smith, *Essay on the Causes of the Variety of Complexion* (Philadelphia, 1787), p. 55.
[287] T. Smollet, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker,* vol. 2 (London, 1771), pp. 7-8.
[288] Ibid, p. 5.
[289] Andry, *Orthopædia,* vol.1*,* p. 62.
[290] D. Hume, 'On Liberty and Necessity', *A Treatise on Human Nature,* vol. 2 (Edinburgh, 1739-4), p. 225.

> tints of colour, the pleasing regularity of feature, and the elegance and fine proportions of person.[291]

He added that like 'other habits', complexions were created 'not by great and sudden impressions, but by continual and almost imperceptible touches'.[292] Over the course of the century, the darker coloured complexions of the lower classes' were thus perceived as inherited or 'natural' embodied characteristics.

Commentators at this time were also interested in the different complexions displayed by people from different parts of the globe. Traditionally these variations were explained in relation to climatic differences. Air, soil quality, temperature, and topography were all thought to influence the colour of the skin. In his discourse on the influence of air upon the body, Arbuthnot affirmed in 1733: 'Air operates sensibly in forming the Constitutions of Mankind, the Specialities of Features, Complexion, Temper, and consequently the Manners of Mankind, which are found to vary much in different Counties and Climates.'[293] Another physician, Bernard Lynch, also wrote:

> That the Complexion depends much upon the *Air*, is plain from Experience; the Complexion of the Inhabitants of several Countries being fair, swarthy, black or adust, according to the Degrees of Heat, Drought, Moisture, or Coolness of the *Air* they live in; for the Inhabitants of Countries in great Latitudes are generally fairer than those that live nearer the Sun.[294]

In this way, complexion was believed to be physically changeable and, as such, skin colour alone was not seen as a clear marker of racial distinction. No group was presented as providing better proof of this situation than Jews. Stanhope Smith attested that although the Jews were all descended 'from one stock', as they were 'prohibited by their most sacred institutions from intermarrying with other nations', it was apparent that their complexion varied according to the climate in which they lived. He wrote: 'this one people is marked with the colours of all. Fair in Britain and Germany, brown in France and Turkey, swarthy in Portugal and Spain, olive in Syria… tawny or copper-coloured in Arabia and in Egypt'.[295]

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[291] Stanhope Smith, *Essay on the Causes of the Variety of Complexion*, p. 53.
[292] Ibid, p. 8.
[293] J. Arbuthnot, *An Essay Concerning the Effects of Air on Human Bodies* (London, 1733), p. 146.
[294] B. Lynch, *Guide to Health, Through the Various Stages in Life* (London, 1744), p.135.
[295] Stanhope Smith, *Essay on the Causes of the Variety of Complexion,* p. 20.

To explain the 'causes' of 'national' differences in complexion in greater detail 'enlightened' commentators in the latter half of the century began to catalogue systematically the distinctive sorts of complexions displayed by people of different national origins. Clearly copying from Carolus Linneaus' *Systema Naturae* (1735), a text in which different breeds of 'homo sapiens' were categorised into six distinct categories according to their skin colour, physiognomy and rules of government, in his *Inaugural Dissertation* (1775), John Hunter provided the following 'Table of Colours':

Black	Africans under the direct rays of the Sun. Inhabitants of New Guinea, and of Batavia.
Sub-black	The Moors of Northern Africa. The Hottentots, dwelling towards the south of the Continent.
Copper-coloured	The East-Indians.
Red	Americans.
Brown	Tartars. Persians. Arabs. Africans dwelling on the Mediterranean Sea. Chinese.
Light brown	Southern Europeans. Sicilians. Abyssinians. Spanish. Turks and others. Samoeides and Laplanders.
White	Almost all the remaining Europeans, as Swedes. Danes. English. Germans. Poles and others. Kabardinski. Georgians. Mingrelians.[296]

While generally remaining loyal to older interpretations which presented climate as the primary influence on complexion, Hunter also discussed the potential

[296] T. Bendyshe (ed.), *The Anthropological Treatises of Johann Freidrich Blumenbach and the Inaugural Dissertation of John Hunter M.D on The Varieties of Man* 1775 (London, 1865), pp. 366-7. It is worth noting that this John Hunter (1754-1809) was an army physician and is not to be confused with the surgeon-anatomist John Hunter (1728-1793). While this lecture was first published only in 1865, the original thesis at Edinburgh was well-known and praised by contemporaries. C. Creighton, 'Hunter, John (1754-1809', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, (2004) http:// www.oxforddnb.com /view/article/14221, accessed 3 Sept 2013].

influence of one other factor: 'modes of life'. Topics he considered under this heading included necessities such as clothing and housing quality, as well as cultivation methods and labour. Through his assertions Hunter implied that people from nations of lower civilizational standing were dark skinned as a result of their inferior modes of life. The language he used to describe the occurrence of black, brown or white skin was certainly laced with a sense of white European civilizational superiority. He wrote:

> Brown colour, differing from white, is by no means confined to the torrid zone; for the men of northern Europe and Asia, where cold and frost and snow reign in perpetual junction, are of a brown colour. They lead a most wretched life; their food consists of fish and wild beasts. For bread, they dig up roots out of the earth. In winter they hide in hovels under the earth, which is necessary, on account of the intolerable cold. This mode of life is no doubt very unfavourable towards causing or preserving whiteness.[297]

Hume was another commentator who suggested that the colour of the skin might imply levels of 'civilization'. In the infamous appended note attached to his 1758 edition of an *Essay of National Characters,* he stated:

> I am apt to suspect the Negroes to be naturally inferior to the Whites. There scarcely ever was a civilized nation of that complexion, nor even any individual, eminent either in action or speculation. No ingenious manufactures amongst them, no arts, no sciences. On the other hand, the most rude and barbarous of the Whites, such as the ancient Germans, the present Tartars, have still something eminent about them, in their valour, form of government, or some other particular. Such a uniform and constant difference could not happen, in so many countries and ages, if nature had not made an original distinction between these breeds of men.[298]

Hume consequently proposed that white racial superiority was evidenced in the more civilized systems of government, developed forms of economic manufacture and the complexity of culture, exhibited in even the most 'barbarous' white nations. He also asserted that this, at least in part, was due to fundamental embodied differences between 'whites' and 'Negroes'.

Similar views were also forwarded by aesthetic commentators in the final stages of the century. Frances Reynolds, sister of the fashionable portrait painter

[297] Hunter, *Inaugural Dissertation*, p. 367
[298] D. Hume, 'Of National Characters', *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects,* vol. 1 (London, 1758), p. 152.

Joshua Reynolds, certainly emphasised the intellectual and cultural weaknesses of the 'negroes'. In her privately printed and circulated aesthetic treatise *Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Taste and the Origins of our Ideas of Beauty*, she stated:

> The negro-race seems to be the farthest removed from the line of true cultivation of any of the human species; their defect of form and complexion, I imagine, as strong an obstacle to their acquiring true taste (the produce of mental cultivation) as any natural defect they may have in their intellectual faculties.[299]

Accordingly, civilizational differences between various races and nations of men were increasingly aligned with perceived differences in the colour of the skin in the second half of the century.

This sort of discussion often included a gendered dimension because, by borrowing the idea that the fairness of women's complexions indicated the superior moral qualities of their gender, commentators sought to show that British racial superiority was indicated by the 'fairness' of the British nation. Johann Reinhold Forster, the naturalist who accompanied James Cook on his second voyage of the Pacific, noted in his diaries that although the women of Tonga had becoming 'brown complexions', their charms failed to match 'those of the European fair ones…among which the British ones, no doubt, deserve the first rank.' He further attested that upon considering the 'innocence and chastity of our British maids, their improved minds and all the other accomplishments they are commonly masters of', observers of the Tongan ladies would have 'not the least remembrance…of these copper beauties.'[300] Charles White, a physician and early advocate of polygenism, also used British women's physical fairness as evidence of the moral and civilizational superiority of the British nation.[301] He rhetorically asked 'where that nice expression of the amiable and

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[299] F. Renyolds, *An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Taste, and of the Origin of our Ideas of Beauty* (London, 1785), pp. 26-7. Frances Reynolds (1729-1807), was a bluestocking, painter, poet and author. The *Enquiry* was first printed in 250 copies at the authors own expense. Reynolds then circulated the text around her friends and acquaintances, including Samuel Johnson, Elizabeth Montagu, Frances Burney, James Boswell, Hannah More and John Hoole. The *Enquiry* was significantly revised by Johnson before its first publication. In 1789 the book was published by J. Smeeton and dedicated to Elizabeth Montagu. It only appeared in a single printed edition. 8o.

[300] M. E. Hoare (ed.), *The Resolution Journal of Johann Reinhold Forster 1772-1775*, vol. 3 (London, 1982), pp. 390-1.

[301] Polygenism is a theory of human origins which attests that various human races are of different lineages (polygenesis). This theory is opposite to monogenism, which argues that all men are of a

softer passions in the countenance; and that general elegance of features and complexion' was better shown than 'except on the bosom of the European woman, two such plump and snowy white hemispheres, tipt with vermillion?'[302]

Towards the end of the century these debates became increasingly charged in accordance with their connections to discussions concerning the abolition of the slave trade.[303] For those who condemned the slave trade, traditional 'environmental' or 'climatic' models of difference were used to reject notions of black racial inferiority. Stanhope Smith, one such advocate of abolition, stated that 'heat or cold when it predominates in any region…it impresses, in the same proportion, a permanent and characteristical complexion'.[304] Some writers, such as John Gabriel Stedman, a distinguished British-Dutch solider who recorded his experiences in Surinam in South America in the popular travel account *The Narrative of a Five Years against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam* (1796), even went so far as to present black skin as a beneficial environmental adaptation. He proposed: 'the complexion of a negro…I am persuaded is entirely owing to the burning climate in which he lives, and an atmosphere still more heated more by the sandy deserts.'[305] The anti-slavery campaigner Thomas Clarkson went even further, suggesting that there were no fundamental differences between 'white' and 'black' people as 'the cuticle of the blackest negroe was of the same transparency and colour, as that of the purest white', before concluding that 'the *true skins* of both' were 'invariably the same'.[306]

Then again, for those who supported the slave trade, differences in the colour of the skin was presented as clear evidence of fundamental embodied differences between 'blacks' and 'whites'. In his *Sketches of the History of Man* (1774), the Scottish philosopher Lord Kames proposed that differences in environment, climate or culture could not fully account for the distinctive forms of complexion displayed by people of different ethnic origins. He stated: 'to me it appears clear from the very frame of the human body, that there must be different races of men fitted for

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singular lineage. For further discussion on polygenism and monogenism in the eighteenth century see chapter 3.

[302] C. White, *An Account of the Regular Gradation in Man* (London, 1799), p. 139.

[303] Porter, *The Enlightenment*, p. 356.

[304] Smith, *Essay on the Causes of the Variety of Complexion,* pp. 6-7.

[305] J. G. Stedman, *Narrative of a Five Years Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam in Guiana on the Wild Coast of South-Africa* (London, 1796), p. 250.

[306] T. Clarkson, *An Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species* (London, 1786), pp. 194-5.

different climes.'[307] Accordingly, Kames argued that it was almost certain that God had created several separate 'races' on earth who could be identified by their different coloured skin.[308] This model provided a clear explanation as to why 'white' people were superior to 'black' that was founded on the distinctive colouration of their skin. The latter half of the eighteenth century thus saw an increasing alignment of skin colour with new concepts of race. In spite of this, as is shown in debates concerning the abolition of the slave trade, it is important to acknowledge that the cause of differences in complexion remained open to debate at this time.

A Surface of Inscription

Throughout the eighteenth century, marks that appeared on the skin were treated with suspicion. Olivia Weisser argues that these marks, as well as lumps, bumps, boils, spots and ulcers, were seen as 'external manifestations of deeper disorder and moral decay.'[309] Andry certainly identified birth marks in the shape of 'Cherries, Strawberries, Mullberies, & c.' and 'Spots of Wine or Milk' as problematic deformities in children.[310] This was because these marks were believed to suggest some sort of disorder in the mind of the mother when she was pregnant. In his discussion of the effects of the maternal imagination, a dialogue which popularised his work on the skin, Turner provided almost endless empirical examples of people who had birthmarks in the shape of apricots, pineapples, plums, and other fruit, as a result of their mother's unsatiated cravings for such foods. He retold that on one occasion a 'Servant-Maid apply'd her self to me for Cure of a Malady upon her Cheek'. Turner added that the girl had told him its cause was 'the Mark of a Shrimp imprest by her Mother's Longing.'[311] In this regard, the skin was imagined as a site prone to corruption from the time of its formation in the womb.

[307] H. Home, Lord Kames, S*ketches of the History of Man,* vol. 1 (Edinburgh & London, 1774), p. 37.
[308] Ibid.
[309] O. Weisser, 'Boils, Pushes and Wheals: Reading Bumps on the Body in Early Modern England', *Social History of Medicine*, 22:2 (2009), p. 323.
[310] Andry, *Orthopædia*, vol.2, p. 122.
[311] Turner, *Treatise of Diseases Incident to the Skin*, p. 127.

If the womb was fraught with some potential dangers then, for the malleable body of the child, the world outside was fraught with even more hazard.[312] Advice book authors were repetitive in their assertions to parents that, from the earliest age, precautions should be taken to ensure that the complexions of their children remained unblemished from ailments such as spots, warts, blackheads, eczema, and freckles, to ensure beauty in later life. This was because children's skin was thought to be particularly 'soft and delicate', which made their pores much more susceptible to corruption than adults.[313] *The Art of Beauty* proposed: 'a wen on the forehead, a wart, a pimple, or any such excrescence, makes a very disagreeable impression.'[314] These skin problems were considered insufferable as they were conceptualised as being inherently dirty. Andry viscerally noted, in a description of the spots and blackheads on the nose:

> There are some Noses all pricked full of small Holes…It is generally believed that these little Holes are Apartments for Worms, and upon this Notion it is usual to pinch these Places between the Nails, to squeeze out the pretended Worms, which are nothing else than greasy sort of Stuff hardened within these Holes.[315]

Whilst these skin markings were considered incidental ailments of childhood, others were much more reviled. Perhaps the most universally feared, principally among urban dwellers, was the killer disease of smallpox. This was because even those who were lucky enough to survive this disease were frequently left blind, crippled, impotent, scared and disfigured. David Shuttleton notes that 'throughout the literature of smallpox' there are moments when 'writers suggest that this particularly offensive, insulting disease outruns the worst fears of the imagination.'[316] Many contemporary commentators agreed with Turner that the smallpox was particularly common in children because it was caused by a 'Ferment' of the menstrual blood 'bestow'd upon the *Fœtus* or Child' when in the womb.[317] The idea that smallpox was generated by the effects of the maternal imagination also circulated widely at this

[312] A. Müller, *Framing Childhood in the Eighteenth-Century Periodicals and Prints 1689-1789* (Farnham, 2009), p. 19.
[313] Stewart, *Plocacosmos: or, The Whole Art of Hairdressing* (London, 1782), p. 25.
[314] *The Art of Beauty*, pp. 2-3.
[315] Andry, *Orthopædia*, p. 55.
[316] D. Shuttleton, *Smallpox and the Literary Imagination, 1660-1820* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 7.
[317] Turner, *Treatise of Diseases Incident to the Skin,* p. 64.

time.[318] Marks of the smallpox, like birth marks, were thus seen as an 'Evil being contracted' in the mother's body.[319] Cheyne also levelled the blame for the presence of smallpox at parents. He stated that it was 'seldom dangerous in those Parents…who have lived in any sober way'.[320]

Relatively few medical advice books provided explanation of the causes of smallpox because until the invention of a vaccine in 1797, there was no real known means of its prevention. Instead, commentators busied themselves by providing instruction on how to remedy or disguise the highly disfiguring scars which smallpox caused. Shuttleton attests that there was a 'blatant gender asymmetry' in the literary attention given to the social impact of smallpox scaring, with the vast majority of this discussion being directed towards young, elite women.[321] This was because such scarring was perceived as a detriment to physical female beauty, itself intrinsically connected to a woman's perceived marriageability, social value and self-worth.[322] It was asserted in *The Art of Beauty*: 'the perfect texture of parts is absolutely necessary towards the formation of beauty. A rough skin, covered over with hair and pimples, and deeply marked with the small-pox, is equally displeasing to the touch, and to the eye'.[323]

The presence of smallpox scars had a damaging effect on individuals' lived experiences. As is evidenced in a letter from a correspondent called 'Parthenissa' sent to *The Spectator,* this was especially true for women. In this letter Parthenissa recounted the sad story of the effects that the smallpox had ravaged upon her face. She stated that before she contracted this illness she was in 'Possession of as much Beauty and as many Lovers as any young Lady in England.' She said, however, that the disfiguring scars left upon her face had transformed her life. Parthenissa lamented: 'My Lovers are at the Feet of my Rivals, my Rivals are every Day bewailing me, and I cannot enjoy what I am, by reason of the distracting Reflection upon what I was. She sadly added: 'I have nothing of my self left which I like'.[324]

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[318] Shuttleton, *Smallpox and the Literary Imagination,* pp. 35-6.
[319] Turner, *Treatise of Diseases Incident to the Skin*, p. 64.
[320] Cheyne, *The English Malady*, pp. 30-1.
[321] Shuttleton, *Smallpox and the Literary Imagination*, pp. 117-8.
[322] Turner, 'The Body Beautiful', pp. 130-131.
[323] *The Art of Beauty*, p. 3.
[324] *The Spectator*, No. 306 (20th February 1712).

While smallpox scars were thought to be a deformity, victims of this disease were often treated sympathetically, in contrast to those who showed marks of the other great eighteenth-century 'pox': venereal disease. This is illustrated by the history of the term 'smallpox', a label which first emerged in the late sixteenth century to differentiate this disease from the 'Great Pox' or syphilis.[325] Venereal pox was believed to generate a set of visible signs on the surface of the skin, not only on the sexual organs, but also on the legs, arms and face. Signs of venereal disease ranged from smallish spots and rashes, to weeping ulcers, and in the most extreme examples, the corrosion of the skin of the nose and the exposure of the cartilage and bones of the face (see chapter 3). Because of the way it was spread, venereal disease was associated with sexual depravity. Individuals who displayed marks of the pox were, as a result, often identified as being dirty 'contaminated' individuals. Illustrating this, in the salacious guide to London's prostitutes, *Harris's List of Covent Garden Ladies*, male readers were warned about a 'Miss Young' who had recently left the Locke hospital before the completion of her course of remedy and who had 'thrown her contaminated carcass on the town again.'[326]

Venereal pox was therefore associated with groups of people, such as prostitutes and male 'rakes', who were thought to be particularly sexually and morally depraved. It was believed that the more 'poxed' the body, the more sexually degenerate the individual. Yet, physicians repeatedly noted that people were much less adept at identifying such diseases than they thought. For example, people frequently mistook the initial signs of syphilis for smallpox, and *vice versa*, on account of the similarity of their superficial cutaneous symptoms.[327] Weisser also demonstrates that because the diagnosis and treatment of skin diseases was produced in a collaborative process between patients, their friends and family, and doctors and surgeons, a person's social identity could influence the medical diagnosis of particular skin markings, bumps and lesions.[328] In his work Turner discussed the case of a young

[325] Shuttleton, *Smallpox and the Literary Imagination,* p. 9. The first recorded outbreak of syphilis occurred in Naples in 1493 or 1494. The disease quickly spread to Poland, England, Hungary, Switzerland, Germany, France and England.
[326] Anon., 'Miss Young, No. 6 Cumberland Court or Turk's Head Bagnio, Bridge Street,' *Harris's List of Covent Garden Ladies* (London, 1779).
[327] Shuttleton, *Smallpox and the Literary Imagination,* p. 9.
[328] Weisser, 'Boils, Pushes and Wheals', p. 336.

married woman who came to him complaining of a 'great Pain in her Head' that other physicians had failed to cure. Only because of his expertise, Turner noted, was he able to draw a link between the skin lesion he observed on her eyebrow and her ailments, and diagnose her as suffering from venereal disease.[329] In this instance, it appears that this woman's disease had not been correctly identified because, as a young wife from an elite family, she was not expected to be suffering from a disease associated with sexual depravity. This reveals that the judgement of individuals according to the marks that appeared on their skin varied in accordance with their position in society.

Furthermore, the marks of smallpox and venereal disease were not always perceived negatively and individuals could manipulate the associations attached to these sorts of skin markings to suit themselves favourably.[330] Erotic texts certainly presented sex as a battle which men had to enter into '*Armour* clad', and 'C[ondo]m arm'd'.[331] In one such text, the author wrote the following poem to the 'RAKES of DRURY':

> THE Man, Dear Friend, who wears a C----*m*,
> May scour the Hundreds round at random;
> Whether it please him to disport,
> In *Wild-Street*, or in *Coulson's Court*;
> He fears no Danger from the Doxies,
> Laughs at their F*****, and scorns their Poxes.[332]

Men, in this fashion, could proudly present the marks of venereal disease as 'battle scars' acquired through their engagement in the so-called 'Wars of Venus'. In some cases, the marks of diseases such as smallpox were also believed to add 'character' to the person who displayed them. In John Cleland's novel *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* (1748), the female protagonist, the prostitute Fanny Hill, noted that the marks of the pox displayed by one of her male clients only served in making him more masculine. It was stated that although 'his face was mark'd with the small-pox', it simply served to add 'a grace of manliness to features, rather turn'd to softness and delicacy.'[333]

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[329] D. Turner, *Syphilis: A Practical Dissertation on the Venereal Disease* (London, 1724), p. 316.
[330] Staves, 'The Puzzle of the Pox-Marked Body', p. 155.
[331] Anon., *Philo-Britanniæ*, *The Potent Ally: or Succours from Merryland* (London, 1741), p. 3.
[332] Ibid, p. 27.
[333] J. Cleland, *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure,* vol. 2 (London, 1748), p. 82.

The ambiguity of meanings attached to the appearance and texture of skin is further evidenced in discussions concerning the embodied effects of the ageing process. The most tangible evidence of age on the skin was believed to be the appearance of wrinkles. It was stated in *Artificall Embellishments*: 'the smiling glories of beauties spring are often ript with an early autume; when sharp sith'd time cuts those flowry graces down, and shrouds them in the furrows of a wrinkl'd face.[334] *Abdeker* also proposed that 'a thousand Folds and Wrinkles' were 'usually attended' by 'decrepit Old Age'.[335]

In relation to cultural assertions that the most beautiful skin forms were clear and smooth, wrinkles were widely perceived as being ugly. Indeed, the aged body covered in wrinkles was repeatedly treated as an object of ridicule. Satirists certainly mocked those seen to be behaving in ways that were not befitting their age by describing the wrinkled appearance of their skin. Perhaps one of the most common stereotypes of this sort was the wrinkled, lecherous older man. In *The Guardian,* the narrator certainly noted his disgust at those 'old amorous Dotards' who endeavoured to recall 'Youth to their Cheeks' by grinning upon seeing a young 'blooming Wench' they liked the look of pass by.[336]

Yet, while wrinkles were an accepted accompaniment of age, having wrinkles in youth was considered a particular deformity. This was because, when displayed in youth, wrinkles were believed to be caused by an ill-temper and too much frowning. *Letters to the Ladies* stated*: '*Another blemish, affecting mostly the skin of the forehead, is wrinkles, which are a natural concomitant of age, but may be produced by habit or gravity even in the youthful period of life'.[337] Andry also identified wrinkles as a significant deformity in young people. He noted: 'Young People should have a Forehead smooth and without Wrinkles.' In order to prevent wrinkles it was asserted that children should be kept in good humour. Andry noted that if children were brought up 'sullen, peevish and thoughtful, the Forehead will grow wrinkled while they are very young; for Spleen and Vexation wrinkle the Brow.'[338] He therefore urged

[334] Jeamson, *Artificall Embellishments*, p. 89.
[335] Le Camus, *Abdeker*, p. 38.
[336] J. Addison & R. Steele, *The Guardian*, No. 29 (14th April 1713).
[337] *Letters to the Ladies,* p. 24.
[338] Andry, *Orthopædia*, vol. 2, p. 22.

parents to bring children round to a good humour after they had been disciplined. Wrinkles in youth were thus considered a deformity as they were thought to result from an ill-tempered countenance or parental negligence.

Conclusion

A range of intellectual, medical and cultural developments occurring in the long eighteenth century had a dramatic effect on how the skin was defined, perceived and conceived in popular culture. Between 1650 and 1750, this change principally involved a movement away from the traditional identification of the skin as the essential or defining feature of the 'body' or 'person', towards a new understanding of the skin as a distinctive corporeal entity that formed a mediating barrier between the individual and the world they inhabited. This shift caused the skin to be presented as an important mediating structure between a person's inner and outer body. Yet, from the 1750s popular commentators increasingly presented the appearance of the skin as evidence of the 'natural' bodily differences between various social actors. Thus, by the end of the century the external appearance of the skin was no longer regarded as a signifier of 'personal identity', but rather as an embodied canvas where evidence of an individual's social identity, as defined by their corporeality, was displayed.

3. Face

Introduction

The face, comprising of the forehead, eyebrows, eyes, nose, cheeks, mouth and chin, is the primary signifier of identity for human beings. This is because it is the individuality of faces that enables us to distinguish one person from another. In spite of this, as an essentially unstable form, the face is also one of the body's most 'elusive objects'.[339] While we can momentarily alter the appearance of our face by re-casting our expression, its looks also change naturally over the course of our life cycle as a result of the ageing process and our lived experiences. In addition, although the face is principally seen as a signifier of the identity of the person who displays it, how its appearance is actually perceived depends on the social meanings associated with it in different cultural settings. Hence, perceptions of the face are always mediated by the meanings attached to it in distinctive social contexts which render its appearance legible as a signifier of identity.

Nevertheless, historians argue that in the eighteenth century the face was considered an untrustworthy and unreliable measure of character. Porter writes: 'Georgian opinion was appalled to find itself at the mercy not only of brazen monsters and bare-faced hypocrites, but of the man of the world; for the man of mode was the man behind the mask.'[340] He argues that this occurred because polite contemporaries embraced the 'idea of the world as a stage' where 'men and women were simply players, acting their parts, mouthing their lines.'[341] Jordanova and Percival have identified similar themes in their research, drawing attention to the way that physiognomy, an art of reading the face, was discredited in the first half of the eighteenth century.[342]

Historians have put forward several arguments to explain why facial appearance was judged as an uncertain measure of character in this period. One thesis

[339] P. Magli, 'The Face and the Soul' in Feher, Naddaff & Tazi (eds), *Fragments for a History of the Human Body*, p. 87.
[340] Porter, *Flesh in the Age of Reason*, p. 250.
[341] Ibid, p. 254.
[342] L. Jordanova, 'The Art and Science of Seeing in Medicine: Physiognomy 1780-1820', in W. Bynum & R. Porter (eds), *Medicine and the Five Senses* (Cambridge, 1993); M. Percival, *The Appearance of Character* (Leeds, 1999); M. Percival, 'J. C. Lavater. Physiognomy and Connoisseurship', *British Journal of Eighteenth-Century Studies* (2003), pp. 77-90.

contends that contemporaries found the meanings of the face difficult to discern because of philosophical changes in the way that personal identity was conceived. In the early modern period, Porter attests that: 'The belief was prevalent and powerful in all manner of discourses, both humouralism and its successors, that physique at large, and in particular the face and its expressions, were signatures of the self within'.[343] Yet, Raymond Martin and John Barresi argue that during the eighteenth century 'there was a revolution in personal identity theory'. They explain that this involved the replacement of the idea of the self as an immaterial soul with 'the self as mind'. That is, Martin and Barresi propose that the 'self' went from being seen as an essentially unchanging substance-based entity, to a fluid essence that was continually re-created through different aspects of a person's embodied social experience.[344] This new model of identity confused the traditional understanding of the appearance of the face as a reflection of the soul.

A second strand of scholarship suggests that these identity confusions were perpetuated by a range of cultural developments occurring in Britain from the late seventeenth century, including urbanisation, the emergence of the public sphere and the birth of commercialism. Dror Wahrman argues that the misperceptions of identity that arose as a result of these social developments are exemplified in the cultural phenomenon of the masquerade; an event where people put on various masks, costumes and cosmetics to disguise their 'true' identities and assume new ones.[345] Likewise, Terry Castle proposes that the 'masked assemblies of the eighteenth century were in the deepest sense a kind of collective meditation on self and other, and an exploration of their mysterious dialectic.' He argues that this was because the material trappings worn at the masquerade enabled 'new bodies' to be 'superimposed over old', and for 'theatrical selves' to displace 'supposedly essential ones'.[346] Material and cultural developments occurring in the eighteenth century thus enabled contemporaries to alter aspects of their appearance, confusing how a person's identity was perceived in relation to their looks.

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[343] Porter, *Flesh in the Age of Reason*, p. 249.
[344] R. Martin & J. Barresi, *Naturalisation of the Soul: Self and Personal Identity in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 2000), p. xi.
[345] Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self,* pp. 157-162.
[346] T. Castle, *Masquerade and Civilization: The Carnivalesque in Eighteenth-Century English Culture and Fiction* (Stanford, 1986), p. 4.

With these issues in mind, this chapter examines how the face functioned as a signifier of a person's identity in eighteenth-century elite society. To begin, it explores how the legitimacy of physiognomy waxed and waned over the course of the century. After that, it examines how philosophical debates concerning the location of identity informed how the face was presented as evidence of a person's character in popular discourse. The ensuing sections will then investigate 'polite' notions of facial beauty and ugliness, and the way that aspects of 'politeness' and information about a person's identity were thought to be indicated by various facial expressions. Finally, the chapter investigates popular debates concerning the use of cosmetics, and how and why the contours of this dialogue changed during this period. This discussion will demonstrate the different ways that new understandings of the body as a social actor altered the way in which the face was perceived as a signifier of a person's identity during the eighteenth century.

Physiognomy

In the early modern period physiognomy was defined as the art of determining a person's character through their facial appearance. In this way, the face was treated as a 'window to the soul'. *The True Fortune-Teller* (1686), an anonymously authored work of divination, explained that 'Physiognomy is a Science' of how to 'read men, and by the External parts, know and discover the inmost secrets of their hearts, according to their natural inclynations.'[347] *Aristotle's Compleat Master-Piece* (1697), a sex manual that included a lengthy discussion of physiognomy to increase its popular appeal, similarly defined physiognomy as 'an ingenious Science, or Knowledge of Nature, by which the Inclinations of every Creature are understood.[348]

The practice of physiognomy was closely connected to astrology. Astrology was an intellectual system of divination which investigated the effects of heavenly bodies, such as planets, upon the human world. As physiognomy was intellectually grounded in the astrological understanding of the world as a microcosm, astrology

[347] Anon., *The True Fortune-Teller, or, Guide to Knowledge: Discovering the Whole Art of Chyromancy, Physiognomy, Metoposcopy, and Astrology* (London, 1686), p. 61.
[348] Anon., *Aristotle's Compleat Master-Piece* (London, 1697), p. 56.

featured heavily in physiognomic discourses. The influence of planets upon different parts of the face was considered especially important. *The True Fortune Teller* noted:

> Planets are greatly significant, and have domination and influence in the succeeding parts of the body, and thus, the Forehead is governed by *Mars*, the right Eye by *Sol*, the left Eye by the *Moon*, the right Ear by *Jupite*r, the left by *Saturn*, the Nose by *Venus*, and the Mouth by *Mercury*.[349]

The twelve signs of the zodiac were also thought to inform the appearance of the face. To make the 'influence' of these signs 'more obvious to the Reader', *Aristotle's Compleat Master-Piece* provided an illustration which depicted how the signs of the zodiac 'governed' the face (fig. 1).[350] It was said that by this 'the Reader may see at the first Glance' that: 'the Sign of ♋ *Cancer* presides in the upper most part of the Forehead, and ♌ *Leo* attending upon the right Eye-brow, as ♐ *Sagitary* does upon the right Eye, and ♎ *Libra* upon the right Ear.'[351]

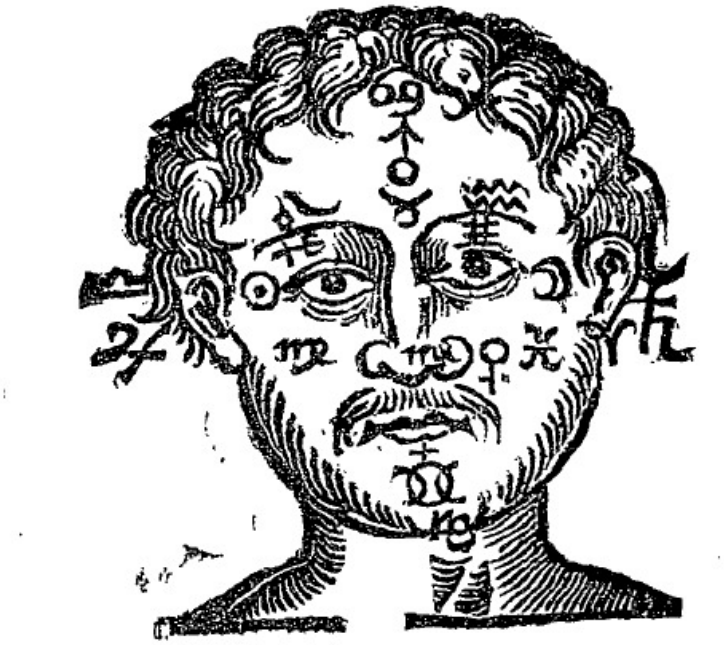

Figure 1. An image of the face illustrating the influence of the different signs of the zodiac, from *Aristotle's Compleat Masterpiece* (London, 1697).

[349] *The True Fortune-Teller*, p. 61.
[350] *Aristotle's Compleat Master-Piece*, p. 95.
[351] Ibid, pp. 95-6.

In popular texts physiognomy was also presented as a means of judging a person's humoural complexion or temperament (see chapter 1). *The True Fortune Teller* proposed that physiognomy was a science of reading men according to 'the constitution of their bodies, in relation to the humours, diseases, or death, signified and foretold by sundry marks and symptoms'.[352] This sort of physiognomic discussion usually focused on the complexion of the face rather than its physical features, with different sorts of skin colouration being correlated with distinctive 'characters'. *The True Fortune Teller* noted that: 'A blackness or swarthyness in the face, if it be shinning, denotes a heavy temper, slow to action, fearful, cautions, and not subject to quarrel'. Correspondingly, it was observed that a fair complexion: 'bespeaks a man to be good natured, seldome angry, soon pacified, and ever faithful to his friend, but fearful and effeminate'.[353]

To enable assessment of what a person's facial features suggested about their character, physiognomists emphasised the need for the face's 'unchanging' elements to be isolated from its more fleeting expressions. In *On Human Physiognomy* (1586), one of the most influential physiognomic texts of the early modern period, the Italian polymath Giovanni Battista della Porta asserted that as the face represented 'one's entire countenance, just as it does one's movements, and passions', it was necessary to judge it only 'after the soul's emotions and passions have cooled.'[354] It was in this mode, as a static symbolic form, that physiognomists presented the face as a legible transmitter of inner character.[355]

The extent to which a person's facial features resembled that of a particular animal was also considered important. This was because the display of certain 'animalistic' traits indicated that the person had characteristics associated with that animal. In this manner, people with lion-like noses were thought to be, like the lion, strong in character, those with 'foxy' features sneaky, and people who looked like pigs lecherous (fig. 2).[356] The astrological sign under which a person was born was thought to be equally significant. When discussing how parents could produce children with

[352] *The True Fortune-Teller*, p. 62.
[353] Ibid.
[354] G. B. della Porta, *De Humana Physiognomia* (Naples, 1586), p. 254.
[355] Magli, 'The Face and the Soul', p. 90.
[356] Le Brun, *The Conference*, p. 42.

attractive faces, the French author Claude Quillet wrote that people born under the 'Aspect of the Bull' were likely to have a long nose with wide nostrils, 'Gorgon' eyes, and an 'ugly forehead.'[357]

Figure 2. Face of a man compared with the face of a lion, from G. B. della Porta, *De Humana Physiognomia* (Naples, 1586).

Furthermore, physiognomists argued that in order to allow the meanings of the face to be read, the face needed to be divided into parts and that it was necessary for the character qualities that different features of the face indicated to be discerned. The nose, recognised as a relatively static feature of the face, was believed to be particularly expressive of character. *Aristotle's Compleat Master-Piece* argued that a man who had a long thin nose was likely to be 'bold, curious, angry, vain, and easy to be persuaded either to good or Evil'. It was also forecast that a nose which was 'very sharp on the Tip of it, and neither too long nor too short, too thick, nor too thin, denotes the Person, if a Man, to be of a fretful Disposition, always pining and peevish.' Yet, if a woman displayed such a nose it was said that she was 'a scold, contentious, wedded to her own Humours'.[358] Physiognomy thus taught that the appearance and distinctive manifestation of the features of the face rendered a person's character discernible.

[357] C. Quillet, *Callipaedia; Or the Art of How to Have Handsome Children,* 2nd edition (London, 1718), p. 29.
[358] *Aristotle's Compleat Master-Piece*, p. 106.

However, during the eighteenth century these convictions were increasingly contested as physiognomy was derided as superstitious nonsense. Keith Thomas attests that the declining legitimacy of physiognomy was due to its links with cosmology, astrology, divination, and other sorts of magical belief based on the understanding of the world as a microcosm, which were destabilised by the development of mechanical philosophy in the late seventeenth-century (see chapter 1).[359]

In spite of this, there was sustained popular interest in physiognomy during the eighteenth century. Addison and Steele discussed physiognomy on several occasions in *The Spectator*. In one issue Addison outlined the ways that physiognomists argued that character could be judged in accordance with appearance of the face and provided a brief history of its practice. After this initial discussion Addison nevertheless added: 'Whether or not the different Motions of the Animal Spirits, in different Passions, may have any Effect on the Mould of the Face when the Lineaments are pliable and tender…I shall leave to the Consideration of the Curious.'[360] Hence, while Addison was willing to admit his interest in physiognomy, he refused to acknowledge whether he personally believed it had any validity as a science of reading the face.

Evidencing the continuing circulation of physiognomic beliefs later in the century, in 1743 the novelist and social commentator Henry Fielding pondered whether physiognomy had been wrongly dismissed as a means of assessing a person's character. Fielding's interest in physiognomy stemmed from his concern that the anonymity of modern society and the growth of commercialism was enabling individuals to pass themselves off as what they were not. In Fielding's opinion the only thing known to expose a man's true character was the physical appearance of his face. '[H]owever cunning the Disguise be which Masquerader wears', Fielding attested, 'he very rarely escapes the Discovery of an accurate Observer; for Nature, which unwillingly submits to the Imposture, is ever endeavouring to peep and show herself'.[361] Yet, he admonished that those who did not possess the adequate skill to

[359] K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*: *Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (London, 1971), pp. 643-4.
[360] *The Spectator*, No. 86 (8th June 1711).
[361] H. Fielding, 'An Essay on the Knowledge of the Characters of Men', in *Miscellanies*, vol. 1 (London, 1743), p. 185.

judge others in this manner. This was the only reason, he deduced, that physiognomy was 'of so little use and credit in the world.'[362]

Besides this, physiognomic assertions were frequently presented in popular texts without any specific reference to the art of physiognomy itself. This is shown in the way that popular authors argued that a person's facial complexion could be judged as a measure of their health, temperament and moral character (see chapter 2). Many authors also continued to propose that the face acted as a 'window to the soul.' Andry, for one, attested that the face took 'the features of the Soul, and moulds itself by them'.[363] Pierre Dionis, physician to Louis XIV, wrote in agreement that the face 'bears the impressions of the true characters of divinity; and being an image of the soul, makes an outward representation of all the passions that reign within.'[364] Some commentators went even further, explicitly delineating what aspects of a person's character were evidenced by different parts of the face. The dancing master John Weaver remarked that the face 'may not improperly be term'd the Image of the Soul', adding: 'Anger and Scorn are located on the Brow: The Eyes express the Sentiments of the Heart; and every Passion of the Mind is discover'd in the Countenance.'[365] Therefore, physiognomic beliefs circulated widely in the eighteenth century, despite a general unwillingness among contemporaries to invest any credibility in physiognomy itself.

As a science of reading the face, physiognomy regained its intellectual credentials in the final decade of the century. The resurgence of interest in physiognomy was ignited by the publication of Johann Caspar Lavater's *Essays on Physiognomy* (1789), a text which had widespread popular appeal that was published in a new edition every year between 1792 and 1810. In this work Lavater sought to promote the legitimacy of physiognomy by providing various 'scientific' images of skulls and foreheads, and by presenting visual and verbal evidence of what different manifestations of the parts of the face suggested about a person's character (fig. 3). Lavater's imperative in legitimising physiognomy was to present it as a valid means of discerning the 'true' nature of a person's character. This sort of investigation was

[362] Ibid, p. 190.
[363] Andry, *Orthopædia*, vol. 2, p. 19.
[364] P. Dionis, *The Anatomy of Human Bodies* (London, 1703), p. 343.
[365] Weaver*, Anatomical and Mechanical Lectures,* p. 5.

necessary, argued Lavater, as people frequently hid their true characters beneath deceptive external façades. He wrote:

> Rank, condition, habit, estate, dress, all concur to the modification of Man, every one is a several veil spread over him. But to pierce through all these coverings into his real character, to discover in these foreign and contingent determinations, solid and fixed principles by which to settle what the Man really is: This appears extremely difficult, if not impossible.[366]

Physiognomy, Lavater proposed, provided a solution to this problem as it allowed the facial characteristics displayed by men and women of different classes, races and characters to be systematically codified, and for patterns between them to be discerned. By judging an individual's face against these catalogues of facial features, Lavater argued that a person's 'true' character could be revealed.

Lavater's assertions were grounded in his belief that the 'self' was a 'bird in a cage' constrained by the body it inhabited. He explained: 'each man is an individual self, with as little ability to become another self as to become an angel.'[367] In this regard, Lavater proposed that the specific make, structure, and form of the face and its features, informed the distinctive character of the 'self'. '[A]ll faces, all forms, all created beings', Lavater proposed, 'differ from one another, not only with respect to their genus, their species, but also, with respect to their individuality'.[368] Consequently, Lavater argued that the character of the individual 'self' could be discerned by the external manifestation of the face, and presented analysis of the static appearance of the face and its features as a means of identifying a person's inner character.

[366] J. C. Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy,* vol. 1 (London, 1789), p. 25.
[367] Ibid, vol. 2, p. 21.
[368] Ibid, p. 27.

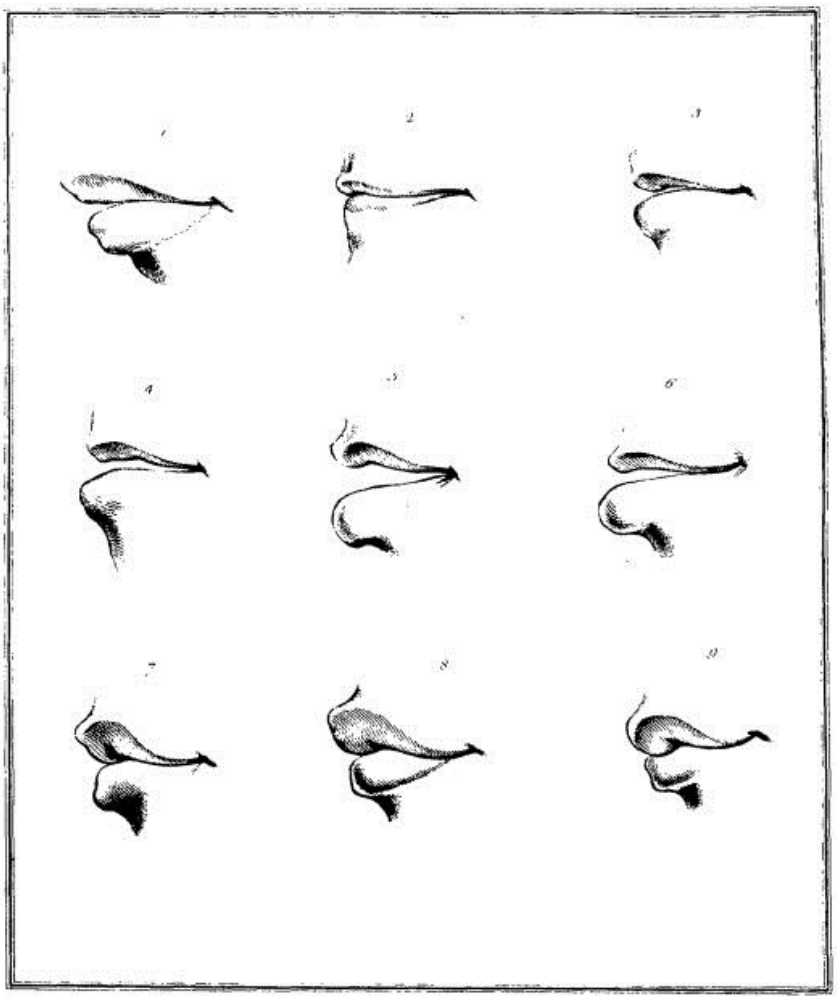

Figure 3. J. C. Lavater, 'Types of Mouth', *Essays on Physiognomy*, vol. 3 (London, 1789).

Facing the 'Polite Self'

The decline of physiognomy in the early eighteenth century was also caused by the emergence of the idea of the 'self'. In *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690), a seminal philosophical work which explored the foundations of human knowledge and understanding, John Locke defined 'self' in the following terms: 'Self is that conscious thinking thing…which is sensible or conscious of pleasure and pain, capable of happiness or misery, and so is concerned for itself, as far as consciousness extends.'[369] For Locke, the idea of the 'self' was imperative for discovering 'wherin personal identity consists'. Above all, 'what the person stands for', in Locke's view was:

> A thinking intelligent being, that has reason and reflection, and can consider it self as it self, the same thinking thing in different times and places; which it does only by that consciousness, which is inseparable from thinking…It being impossible for any one to perceive, without perceiving, what he does perceive. When we see, hear, smell, taste, feel, mediate, or will anything we know that we do so. Thus it is always as to our present sensations and perceptions: and by this every one is to himself, that which he calls self.[370]

Locke's identity theory thus condemned the age-old belief that the identity of the individual was contained in the immaterial and immortal substance of soul, the character of which was imprinted on the surface of the body. Instead, Locke argued that the 'self' was formed through an individual's lived experiences and their reflection upon those experiences by the means of self-determined consciousness. In his work Locke also differentiated the 'self' or 'personhood' from the 'man'. While Locke identified 'man' as the embodied substance of a particular shape and form that had features common to all humans, he noted that 'personhood' was the expression of an individual's own consciousness or 'self'. This distinction between 'man' and 'personhood', one contemporary commentator has offered, operated much in the same way as modern theorists distinguish the ontological category of 'sex' from the social classification of 'gender'.[371] In addition, although Locke stated that some qualities belonging to the substance of the human body were universal, he argued that

[369] J. Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (London, 1690), II: XXVII.
[370] Ibid.
[371] Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self,* p. 197.

'personal identity' or the 'self' was always distinctive for the consciousness formed through one person's experiences could not be known by another. Locke therefore implied that a person's facial appearance was not always conterminous with their identity because the 'self', unlike the body, could easily assume a plethora of different forms.

The identity questions posed by Locke found a receptive audience among the eighteenth-century urban elite. Popular interest in identity theory stemmed from the way that urban culture rendered society increasingly 'faceless'. This was identified as a problem throughout the century. Nearing the end of the period one social commentator noted his envy at the reassuring situation in the traditional setting of the countryside where 'each person, his family, and connections are known to everybody'. In contrast, he complained about the reverse state of affairs in modern cities such as London. Here, he said: 'Characters are so blended and intermixed that it is difficult for the nicest speculator to distinguish the persuasions and principles of each individual so as to form a just estimate.'[372]

In the early eighteenth century, in the hands of social commentators, philosophical debates concerning the location of identity were re-fashioned to address the issue of how a person's character could be discerned given that daily experience demonstrated that looks were deceptive. A solution to this problem was devised by Addison and Steele in their influential journals *The Tatler* (1709-11) and *The Spectator* (1711-14). Rather than attempting to discern a person's 'true' character through their facial appearance, Addison and Steele proposed that people should judge others on their manners and the way they enacted various forms of social behaviour. Addison plainly stated that in his view nothing was: 'more glorious than for a Man to give the Lie to his Face, and to be an honest, just, good-natured Man, in spite of all those Marks and Signatures which Nature seems to have put upon him for the Contrary.'[373] It was to this model of identity articulation and perception that the term 'politeness' referred.

That is not to say that Addison and Steele considered the looks of the face inconsequential. In opposition, they presented the appearance of the face as a

[372] Anon., *Pictures of Men, Manners and the Times,* vol. 1 (London, 1779), pp. 191-2.
[373] *The Spectator*, No. 86 (8th June 1711).

'prototypical sign' of a person's character.[374] This is shown in discussions concerning facial beauty and ugliness located within *The Tatler* and *The Spectator*. To begin with, Addison and Steele noted how the cultivation of good character could render a person 'beautiful'. Illustrating this, in *The Tatler* the narrator Isaac Bickerstaff remarked that although his sister Jenny was no regular beauty, on her wedding day, because of her good character and happiness, 'she had a beauty in her air that had attractions beyond what symmetry and exactness could inspire'.[375]

Nevertheless, Addison and Steele warned their readers that they should not immediately assume that a person with a beautiful face was a good person, and that a person with an ugly face was a bad one. In *The Spectator,* a story detailing the lives of two sisters called Laetitia and Daphne was used to explain why this sort of reasoning was flawed. While the first sister, Laetitia, was described as 'one of the greatest beauties of the age in which she lives', Daphne was said to be in 'no way remarkable for any Charms of her Person'.[376] It was said, however, that all the praise that Laetitia had received for her beauty since her childhood had left her 'insupportably Vain and Insolent, towards all who have to do with her'. Yet, it was noted that Daphne, who did not have her sister's features to recommend her, had 'found herself obliged to acquire some Accomplishments to make up for the want of those Attractions she saw in her sister'. It was then explained that when a gentleman had come to the sisters' house to court the beautiful Laetitia, the young suitor had quickly turned his attentions to Daphne after being attracted to her good humoured countenance. In the end, it was thus Daphne rather than Laetitia who became the young man's wife. Together this evidence suggests that Addison and Steele regarded the appearance of the face as an exemplary, but not infallible, sign of a person's character.

[374] D. Lynch, 'Overloaded Portraits: The Excess of Character and Countenance' in Kelly & Meucke (eds), *Body and Text in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 116.
[375] *The Tatler*, No. 79 (11th October 1709).
[376] Ibid, No. 33 (7th April 1711).

Beauty

Beauty represented an important element of elite culture during the eighteenth century. This was because it was considered a vital concomitant to civility and 'politeness.' As Turner has argued, notions of physical beauty at this time were 'comparative and evaluative'. They served to establish differences 'not simply between individuals considered more or less favoured in terms of their looks, but between classes, races, and nations.'[377] Indeed, while philosophical treatises debated the moral and aesthetic qualities of beauty, and the nature of its perception, beauty manuals provided explicit descriptions of what the most pleasing facial forms should look like and offered advice to readers about how they could obtain beauty. Both of these sets of discourse informed the construction of ideals of facial beauty during this period.

In the first half of the century, popular dialogues concerning facial beauty related chiefly to the structure, make and 'form' of the face. Beautiful faces were considered to be those that were regular, symmetrical, ordered and proportional in their features and overall composition. *Delights for the Ingenious* (1711), a short-lived journal that contained miscellaneous writings on 'useful and diverting subjects', posed the question: 'What are those *Features* and *Accomplishments of Body*, which in your Opinion make a *perfect beauty*?' The answer was:

> 1. Youth. 2. A Stature neither too big nor too little. 3. To be neither too fat nor too lean 4. Symmetry and Proportion of all the Parts. 5. Long, Light and Fine Hair. 6. A Delicate and Smooth Skin. 7. A Lively White and Red 8. An Even Forehead. 9. The Temples not Hollow. 10. The Eye-brows as two Lines. 11. Blew Eyes, close to the Head giving an amorous Look. 12. A Nose somewhat long. 13. Cheeks roundish, making a little Dimple 14. A graceful Laughter. 15. Two Coral Lips 16. A little Mouth. 17. Teeth White as Pearls, and well set. 18. A Chin roundish and fleshy, with a little Cherry-pit at the end of it.[378]

The beauty of Fatima, the Persian heroine of *Abdeker,* was also suggested to belong to her symmetrical, well-positioned features. It was said:

[377] Turner, 'The Body Beautiful', p. 124.
[378] J. Tipper, *Delights for the Ingenious; or, A Monthly Entertainment for the Curious of Both Sexes* (London, 1711).

> Her face form'd a perfect Oval…the Height and Breadth of her Forehead were in due proportion. Such symmetry appeared in the Formation of all the parts of her Head, and such Majesty shone in her Looks, that Nature seem'd to have formed her Brow to grace an Imperial Diadem. Her Nose which sprung insensibly from her forehead, separated her rosy cheeks; her mouth was small and well form'd her Vermillion Lips were border'd with two rows of teeth, that represented so many pearls; and the lowest part of her face was adorn'd by a chin that form'd a perfect arch.[379]

Classically beautiful facial forms were generally associated with favourable moral characteristics. In his *Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, the philosopher and pupil of Locke, Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury, argued that there was a clearly quantifiable natural order of beauty belonging to order, harmony, proportion and symmetry, and that virtue and beauty were symbiotically conjoined. He wrote: 'all *Beauty* is TRUTH. *True* Features make the Beauty of a Face; and true Proportions the Beauty of Architecture; as *true* Measures of that Harmony and Musick.'[380]

Similar equations between facial beauty and virtue were calculated in popular texts in the first half of the century. In one article in *The Spectator,* Mr Spectator recounted that when seated at the theatre one night his friend Will Honeycomb had sought his attention to point out the beauty of a woman sat in the opposite box. Honeycomb enthused to Mr Spectator:

> Behold, you who dare, that charming Virgin. Behold the Beauty of her Person chastised by the Innocence of her Thoughts…she knows she is handsome, but she knows she is good. Conscious Beauty, adorned with conscious Virtue! What a Spirit is there in those Eyes! What a Bloom in that Person! How is the whole Woman expressed in her Appearance! Her Air has the Beauty of Motion, and her Look the Force of Language.[381]

The journal *The Universal Spectator* similarly asserted that 'Virtue, Modesty and Beauty' were the 'Foundation for a woman's claims to Love and Respect.'[382] *Look e're You Leap,* a text which discussed female characteristics and counselled men on their selection of a wife, also presented good looks as an indication of good character. It

[379] Le Camus, *Abdeke*r, pp. 4-5.
[380] A. Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, *Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times,* vol. 1, (London, 1711), p. 142.
[381] *The Spectator*, No. 4 (4th March 1710).
[382] H. Stonecastle, *The Universal Spectator*, vol. 2 (London, 1736), p. 71.

advised male readers that they should select a 'moderately fair and beautiful' wife as 'a lovely fair Face does generally prove the Index of a fairer Mind.'[383]

Around the mid-century ideas about the 'essential' qualities of beauty, and philosophical understandings of how beauty was perceived, began to change. To begin with, commentators questioned whether facial beauty was actually dependant on the possession of perfectly proportional features. In *The Analysis of Beauty*, the prominent artist and satirist William Hogarth criticised the elite's obsession with traditional notions of classical beauty. This was because he argued that the faces of 'real' women, which frequently failed to exhibit all the physical qualities usually considered essential for beauty, were more engaging than the classical ideal. Hogarth rhetorically asked: 'Who but a bigot…will say that he has not seen faces and necks, hands and arms, in living women, that even the Grecian Venus doth but coarsely imitate?'[384]

Such critical views were also sallied forth by a young Edmund Burke in his influential treatise on aesthetics, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*. Despite recognising that it was in 'every body's mouth, that we ought to love perfection', Burke questioned the belief that facial beauty relied on the possession of proportional features.[385] He reasoned:

> THERE are some parts of the human body, that are observed to hold certain proportions to each other; but before it can be proved, that the efficient cause of beauty lies in these, it must be shewn, that wherever these are found exact, the person to whom they belong is beautiful.'[386]

Nevertheless, upon considering the matter himself, Burke said that he had discovered that beauty was not actually dependant on any 'particular proportions' and that physical 'perfection' alone did not 'by any means produce beauty'.[387]

In response, in the second half of the century commentators began to investigate how other aspects of the external appearance of the face contributed to the display of beauty. In his acclaimed essay 'Crito', Joseph Spence argued that there were two principal categories of physical beauty: form and colour. Firstly, in reference

[383] *Look e're You Leap*, pp. 46-7.
[384] Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty*, p. 66.
[385] Burke, *A Philosophical Inquiry*, p. 115.
[386] Ibid, p. 78.
[387] Ibid, p. 81.

to form, Spence proposed that instead of perfect proportions and symmetry, the beauty of the body depended on the exhibition of 'Delicacy and Softness'.[388] In the second instance, Spence suggested that beauty, when displayed by the face, was chiefly determined by the colour of the complexion. This was because he argued that this was the 'most striking, and the most observed' aspect of its appearance.[389] Reflecting the growing belief that beauty was dependant on variety, Spence also proposed that the most beautiful complexions were those that were made up of a range of different colours and hues, and that women of many different complexions could be considered beautiful. He attested: 'As to the Colour of the Face in particular, a great deal of its Beauty is owing…to Variety; that being designed by Nature for the greatest Concourse of different Colours, of any Part in the Human Body.'[390] In the second half of the century, the complexion of the face was thus considered an equally important quality of beauty as the form of its features, with a variety of different coloured complexions being considered beautiful.

Around the mid-century commentators also began to question the belief, previously endorsed by the likes of Shaftesbury, that there was an 'essential' or 'natural' order of beauty. This was because beauty was increasingly conceptualised as a subjective judgement made by the eye of the beholder. The development of these ideas reflected new ideas of sensibility, emerging in this period, which emphasised the value of cultivating individual emotions and feelings. In his *Dictionary* Johnson wrote: 'The idea of beauty is vague and undefined, different in different minds, and diversified by time and place.' Likewise, Hume explained that: 'Beauty is no quality in things themselves; it exists merely in the mind which contemplate them; and each mind perceives a different beauty. One person may even perceive deformity, where another is sensible of beauty.'[391]

One aspect of this discussion concerning the subjective qualities of beauty focused on the various attributes that were considered essential for facial beauty in different nations from around the globe. Andry was one commentator who conceded that beauty was culturally relative. He observed that while the Tartars 'will not allow

[388] Spence, 'Crito', p. 14.
[389] Ibid, p. 9.
[390] Ibid, p. 11.
[391] D. Hume, *Four Dissertations* (London, 1757), pp. 208-9.

any Person to be handsome, unless the Eyes are little and hollow, and the Waist thick', he reported that 'amongst the Moors, the more the Nose is upon a level with the Face it is reckoned the handsomer.' Andry also argued that although some facial features did not belong to 'an Order of Beauty' which suits 'our Taste', this did not mean that people should 'condemn it on this account.'[392] He continued:

> When Nature forms a Face, she does it by such measures as must make it quite perfect with regard to what she designed it. Let Men judge of those Things in whatever manner they please; let the French, for Example, despise the flat Noses and little Eyes; let the Chinese esteem them: these are all Extravagancies of the human Mind.[393]

Andry argued that one sort of beauty could not be said to be better than another because:

> Were we able to trace Things to their first Principles, we should find that there are different Orders of Beauty as well as of Architecture; and it may always be truly affirmed, that Nature having observed those Rules, the most ugly Face in the World in our Eyes, is as prefect and regular, as that which we think the best proportioned and most beautiful.[394]

Ideas concerning facial beauty were also transformed in the 1750s as philosophers began to re-conceptualise the psychological processes involved in the perception of beauty. Burke, for one, attested that beauty could only be perceived in subjects which expressed moral virtue and provoked pleasing sensations in the mind of the observer. He wrote:

> Beauty is, for the greater part, some quality in bodies acting mechanically upon the human mind with the intervention of the senses. We ought therefore to consider attentively in what those sensible qualities are disposed, in such things as by experience we find beautiful, or which excite in us the passion of love, or some correspondent affection.[395]

Correspondingly, Burke proposed that people who possessed a good character were the most likely to be considered beautiful because:

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[392] Andry, *Orthopædia*, vol. 1, p. 73.
[393] Ibid, vol. 1, p. 73
[394] Ibid, vol. 1, p. 73.
[395] Burke, A *Philosophical Inquiry*, p. 116.

> manners give a certain determination to the countenance, which being observed to correspond pretty regularly to them, is capable of joining the effect of certain agreeable qualities of the mind to those of the body.[396]

That is, Burke argued that any person could be considered beautiful if their face expressed inner goodness. Spence, another advocate of this understanding, also attested that, along with form and colour, 'Expression and Grace' were essential to beauty. He wrote that whilst 'Expression' was 'common to all Persons and Faces', 'Grace' was 'to be met with but in very few.'[397]

In accordance with these new understandings of beauty, in the second half of the century men as well as women were described as being beautiful. This was not a situation that had been facilitated earlier in the century when beauty was understood to belong to precise physical qualifications. Burke wrote: 'nobody will say that they are; yet both sexes are capable of beauty'.[398] Spence also acknowledged that men could have beautiful forms of facial appearance. Recognising that the perception of beauty depended on the sentiments that particular facial forms provoked, Spence nevertheless noted that the qualities displayed by beautiful male and female faces were quite distinct. In the case of women he observed that '[t]he distinguishing Character of Beauty' was a 'Delicacy and Softness', while for men it was the appearance of 'either apparent Strength, or Agility.'[399]

Later in the century Reynolds made similar observations, emphasising the way that the different forms of facial beauty displayed by men and women reflected their distinctive characteristics. She stated: 'The softness and mildness of the feminine expression would be displeasing in a man.' Reynolds proposed that this was because 'the beauty of each sex is seen only though the medium of the virtues belonging to each'. Reynolds thus reasoned that it was this 'moral sense' that not only gave 'each its distinct portions of the same virtues', but which also drew the 'line which neither can pass without a diminution of their specific beauty.'[400] She therefore concluded: 'It is the feminine character that is the sweetest, the most interesting image of beauty;

[396] Ibid, p. 104.
[397] Spence, 'Crito', p. 20.
[398] Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry*, p. 80.
[399] Spence, 'Crito', p. 14.
[400] Reynolds, *An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Taste*, p. 23.

the masculine partakes of the sublime.'[401] Thus, over the course of the eighteenth century beauty was progressively seen as a subjective judgement that primarily belonged to the eye of the observer and the moral sentiments of the exhibitor.

Ugliness

In *Plain Ugly,* Naomi Baker proposes that 'far from being solely preoccupied with beauty', the early modern period 'was an age in which the human figure in all its often repellent as well as potentially magnificent variety was an object of fascination.'[402] Throughout this period, ugly and 'deformed' faces were identified as those which were oddly shaped, asymmetrical, irregular, weak chinned, long, lopsided, and that displayed over or under-sized features. In 1711 *The Spectator* published a series of admission criteria entitled 'The Act of Deformity' for a group called the 'Ugly Club'. It was proclaimed that 'no Person whatsoever shall be admitted without a visible Quearity in his Aspect, or peculiar Cast of Countenance', and 'that if the Quantity of any Man's Nose be eminently miscalculated, whether as to Length or Breadth, he shall have a just Pretence to be elected'. The article went on to add that there was no member of the society as praised as 'old Nell Trot', who was described as 'one of the Extraordinary Works of Nature.' It was proposed that in her case 'Complexion, Shape, Features, so valued by others, they are all meer Outside and Symmetry'.[403] Ward's *History of London Clubs* also provided descriptions of various members of a club 'of Ugly Faces.' Notable members included a man with 'a chin as long as a grave patriarchal beard, and in a shape like a shoeing horn', another 'with a disfigured mouth like a gallon pot', and one individual who had 'a pair of convex cheeks, as if, like Æblus, the god of the winds, had stopped his breath for a time.'[404]

Ugliness and deformity were generally equated with immorality, disorder and sin during the first half of the century. Baker argues that this was because before the establishment of formal aesthetics around the mid-eighteenth century, 'beauty and its inversions operated with wider and transcendent' moral frameworks. She adds that within these contexts ugliness was considered to deviate from the moral ideal

[401] Ibid, p. 29.
[402] N. Baker, *Plain Ugly: The Unattractive Body in Early Modern Culture* (Manchester, 2010), p. 1.
[403] *The Spectator*, No. 17 (20th March 1711).
[404] Ward, *The Secret History of Clubs*, p. 81.

meaning that ugly faces, 'either in the flesh or in literary and visual texts', were thought to emblazon 'moral corruption for all to see'.[405] While not condoning the association between ugliness and sin, Addison admitted: 'When I see a man with a sour shrivelled face, I cannot forebear pitying his wife; and when I meet with an open ingenious countenance, think of the happiness of his friends, family and relations.'[406]

Medical commentators also subscribed to the view that ugly or 'deformed' faces were produced by forms of abnormal or immoral behaviour. The man-midwife John Maubray certainly blamed ugly forms of facial appearance on some sort of disordered imagination in the mind of the mother when she was pregnant. 'Whence is it then that we have so many *deform'd Persons*, *crooked Bodies*, *ugly Aspects*, *distorted Mouths*, *wry Noses*, and the like, in all Countries', he asked, 'but from the IMAGINATION of the Mother; while she either conceives such shapeless *Phantasms* in her *Mind*, or while she frequently and intently fixes her *Eyes* upon such *deform'd Persons* or disagreeable OBJECTS?'[407]

The association between ugliness and immorality in popular understanding is evidenced in contemporary discussions concerning the appearance of the nose. Generally speaking, the nose was not considered an especially beautiful part of the face in the eighteenth century. The popular anatomist John Cook remarked that the nose was only useful in the sense that the face would appear 'uncomely without it.'[408] In part, the negative meanings attached to the nose were owing to its identification as 'the sink of the brain, by which the flegm of the brain is purged'.[409] Later in the century *The Art of Beauty* also proposed: 'Beauty is a very nice and cleanly dame, who loves to have the nose kept neat and handsome, as well as the other parts designed for more honourable uses.'[410] Therefore, the nose was rarely looked upon as a particularly admirable part of the face in the eighteenth century as it was associated with corporeal actions that were considered 'uncivilised'.[411]

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[405] Baker, *Plain Ugly,* pp. 11-2.
[406] *The Spectator*, No. 86 (8th June 1711).
[407] J. Maubray, *The Female Physician* (London, 1724), p. 62.
[408] Cook, *Anatomical and Mechanical Essay,* vol. 1, p. 340.
[409] *Aristotle's Book of Problems*, p. 16.
[410] *The Art of Beauty*, p. 56.
[411] Elias, *The Civilising Process*, pp. 121-129.

The cultural derision of the nose was also caused by its connection with various forms of sexual depravity. Working upon this understanding, Tissot noted that excessive masturbation caused blisters on the nose.[412] These beliefs derived from the recognition that venereal disease, in its later stages, caused corrosion of the nose. As such, this was a deformity chiefly associated with groups of sexually degenerate individuals such as prostitutes and male rakes. In his *History of London Clubs*, Ward described what had led one gentleman to set up the 'no-nose' club. He stated:

> A Merry Gentleman who had often hazarded his own Bolt-Split, by Steering a Vitious Course among the Rocks of Venus, having observ'd in his walks thro' our English Sodom, that abundance of both Sexes had Sacrificed their Noses to the God Priapus, and had un-luckily fallen into the Aethiopian Fashion of Flat-Faces, pleas'd himself with an opinion, it must prove a comical sight for so many maim'd Leachers; snuffling Stallions; young un-fortunate Whoremasters; poor scarify'd Bawds; and salivated Whetstones, to shew their scandalous Vizards into one Nose-less Society.[413]

The narrator of *The Tatler* similarly warned young fresh-faced men coming to London for the first time against consorting with prostitutes. This is because, he warned, such women were only 'after their noses'. He went on:

> re-gard every Town-Woman as a particular Kind of Siren, that has a Design upon their Noses, and that, amidst her Flatteries and Allurement, they will fancy she speaks to 'em in that humorous Phrase of old Platus: *Ego tibi Faciem denasabo mordieus*. 'Keep your Face out of my Way, or I'll bite it off.[414]

Accordingly, when describing the poor, popular authors frequently provided detailed descriptions of the ugly appearance of their noses to suggest their immorality. Illustrating this, in an advertisement for a run-away servant thief in *The Tatler*, the woman in question was described as having a nose which was 'very broad at Bottom, and turning up at the End'.[415] In one of his satirical texts, *The London-Spy,* a book which ridiculed various well-known characters who inhabited the streets of London, Ward similarly mocked a man from Cheapside, one of London's poorer districts, for his

[412] Tissot, *Onania*, p. 22.
[413] Ward, *The Secret History of Clubs*, p. 36.
[414] *The Tatler*, No. 260 (7th December 1710).
[415] Ibid, No. 245 (2nd November 1710).

particularly abnormal looking nose. This 'old fellow', it was said, had a nose that was 'as long almost as a Rowling-Pin' and 'as big at the end as a Foot-ball, beset with Carbuncles and Rubies.' Ward uncharitably remarked that he believed it improper for this man to appear in public. He added that the only time he thought it was right for this individual to let himself be seen was at the 'Bartholomew Fair, amongst the Arabian Monsters.'[416]

The imagined connection between ugliness and poverty is further evidenced in more generalised descriptions of the appearance of the urban poor in popular literature. In *The London-Spy* Ward reported that when meandering through one of London's poorer districts he was confronted with nothing but old, ugly and deformed faces. He wrote:

> Every two or three steps, we met some Old figure or another, that look'd as if the Devil had Rob'd 'em of all that natural Beauty, which (in being our Makers Image) we derive from our Creator; and had infus'd his own Infernal Spirit in their Corrupt Carcasses: For nothing could be read but Devilism in every Feature. Theft, Whordome, Homicide, and Blasphemy peep'd out at the very Windowes of their souls; Lying, Perjury, Fraud, Impudence, and Misery were the only Graces of their Countenance.[417]

In this manner, the perceived 'ugliness' of London's lower orders was thought to reflect the 'characteristic' moral vices of their class, among them, theft, sexual depravity, blasphemy, and imprudence.

Similar assertions were made by authors in the final decade of the century. Reynolds, an advocate of the idea that the appearance of the body revealed differences between various classes and races of men, certainly believed that the lower classes tended to be uglier than the elites. She wrote: 'In the face or form of an idiot, or the lowest rustic, there is no beauty'. The reason for this, Reynolds asserted, was because 'every precept for exterior appearance' was informed by the mind. Working up her argument, Reynolds added that 'without sentiment' no person could be capable of 'expressing any sentiment analogous to beauty'. '[W]anting the

[416] N. Ward, *The London-Spy Compleat* (London, 1700), p. 14. The Bartholomew Fair took place in London from the 24th of August every year between 1133 and 1855. It was primarily a fair for the sale of clothing and other commercial goods, but also featured side-shows, prize-fighters, musicians, acrobats, 'freaks' and wild animals.
[417] Ibid, p. 5.

surrounding influence of a moral system, i.e. of the general influence of education on the exterior', she continued, 'they could not supress or veil a semblance incongruous with beauty.'[418] In other words, Reynolds asserted that the lower classes' lack of education, sentiment and morality was what caused them to appear physically ugly.

Reynolds reasoned that this same understanding could be used to explain why people from barbarous nations often had 'ugly' faces. She attested: 'supposing a nation of idiots, they never could, I imagine, provide in corporeal, even though natural form was on an equality with the rest of mankind'.[419] Of all the races of men no group more clearly evidenced this situation in Reynolds' mind than the 'negroes'. She wrote:

> The negro-race seems to be the farthest removed from the line of true cultivation of any of the human species; their defect of form and complexion being, I imagine, as strong an obstacle to their acquiring true taste (the produce of mental cultivation) as any natural defect they may have in their intellectual faculties.[420]

Goldsmith made similar observations, attesting that the extent to which a nation was ugly or beautiful reflected their level of civilisation. Attempting to evidence this, he recounted what had happened to 'Arabians' who had migrated to Africa in the distant past. He observed that they 'seem to have degenerated from their ancestors; and forgetting their ancient learning, with their beauty, have become a race scarce any way distinguishable from the original natives.'[421] Throughout the eighteenth century ugly forms of facial appearance were thus associated with immorality, sin and vice. This was the reason why commentators who sought to suggest the inferiority of the lower classes and other nations and races, frequently described these groups of people as being 'ugly'.

[418] Reynolds, *An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Taste*, p. 25.
[419] Ibid.
[420] Ibid, pp. 26-7.
[421] Goldsmith, *An History of the Earth,* vol. 2, p. 228.

Expressing 'Politeness'

During the first half of the eighteenth century, when 'politeness' dictated elite norms of personal expression and behaviour in the public sphere, a person's facial expressions were thought to offer the most trustworthy information about their character. This was because, unlike the make and form of the face, facial expressions were understood to be malleable and reflect the sentiments of the 'self'. No feature of the face was considered more expressive of character than the eyes. This was due to the close connection perceived between the eyes and the soul. In popular texts the eyes were frequently presented as transcendental 'openings' through which the soul could pass in and out of the corporeal boundary of the flesh. The eye, noted one commentator:

> seems as much the Receptacle and Seat of our Passions, Appetites and Inclinations as the Mind it self; at least it is the outward Portal to introduce them to the House within, or rather the common Thorough-fare to let our Affections pass in and out. Love, Anger, Pride and Avarice, all visibly move in those little Orbs.[422]

Similarly, the self-help author Thomas Tryon presented the eyes as 'passages', describing them as the 'Gates, through which the Spirits of life pass and repass'.[423]

For this reason it was generally agreed that the sentiment of the mind were expressed by the appearance of the eyes. Le Brun proposed that 'the Eye-balls by their sparkling, and motion, shew the Agitation of the Soul.'[424] Essex similarly asserted: 'The Eye discovers the Sentiments of the Heart.'[425] In turn, different 'looks' were associated with different character attributes, sentiments and emotions. An anonymous correspondent to *The Spectator* proposed that while a 'beautiful Eye makes Silence eloquent, a kind Eye makes Contradiction an Assent, an enraged Eye makes beauty Deformed.'[426]

Hence, conduct authors warned their readers that they needed to be careful about the way their eyes actually 'looked'. *The Whole Duty of a Woman* sternly told

[422] *The Spectator*, No. 250 (December 17th 1711).
[423] T. Tryon, *The Merchant, Citizen and Countryman's Instructor,* 2nd edition (London, 1701), p. 28.
[424] Le Brun, *The Conference*, p. 14.
[425] Essex, *The Young Ladies Conduct*, p. 24.
[426] *The Spectator*, No. 252 (December 19th 1711).

women that it was important to 'watch upon your Eyes.[427] These authors provided such warnings because they noted that the expressions of the eyes frequently betrayed people's 'true' sentiments. Regulation of the eyes' expressions was therefore considered essential for politeness because it was recognised that sometimes people needed to keep their 'true' sentiments hidden for social cohesion. In his influential conduct book *Letters to His Son*, a work that acknowledged that the display of politeness often depended on social pretence, Lord Chesterfield informed his son: 'People can say what they will, but they cannot look just as they will; and their looks frequently discover, what their words are calculated to conceal.'[428]

Eyes that 'wandered' too freely, or squinted, were believed to be particularly 'deformed'. This was because they were thought to suggest some sort of character abnormality in the person who displayed them. *Aristotle's Compleat Master-Piece* asserted that those 'whose eyes are every way rolling up and down' were 'by their inclinations very malicious, vain-glorious, slothful, unfaithful, envious, false, and contentious.'[429] Andry also identified the inability 'to look steadily upon anything' as a significant deformity. He proposed: 'a person who has an unsettled Look, is generally supposed…to be of as unsettled a Mind.'[430] Goldsmith was more emphatic in his assertions. He attested that being short sighted often 'gives an air of stupidity to the face, which often produces very unfavourable prepossessions.' He added: 'However intelligent we find such persons to be, we can scarcely be brought back from our first prejudice.'[431]

What the eyes were actually allowed to look at was also strictly managed in polite society. This regulation was usually guided by notions of good conduct and proprietary. *The Polite Academy* instructed boys that it was a sign of respect to fix 'your Eyes modestly' on the face of anyone you were speaking to and that it was rude to look upon others while they were reading and eating. In addition, boys were told that while it was necessary always to sustain eye-contact with your dancing partner, it

[427] Anon., *The Whole Duty of a Woman; Or, A Guide to the Female Sex* (London, 1701), p. 46.
[428] P. D. Stanhope, Lord Chesterfield, *Letters Written by the late Right Honourable Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, to his Son, Philip Stanhope, Esq*., vol. 1 (London, 1774), p. 187.
[429] *Aristotle's Compleat Master-Piece,* p. 104.
[430] Andry, *Orthopædia*, vol. 2, p. 82.
[431] Goldsmith, *An History of the Earth,* vol. 2, p. 82.

was rude to stare at people too boldly in the street.[432] The reason why conduct authors provided this instructional detail on the ways the eyes should 'look' was because failure to follow these rules correctly was seen as the height of incivility. One correspondent to *The Spectator* complained to Mr Spectator bitterly about being met with 'blustering Airs, big Looks and bold Fronts' whenever he walked 'into the Streets of *London* and *Westminster.'*[433]

Likewise, conduct authors frequently condemned the exchange of 'impolite' looks between men and women. Male conduct authors emphatically warned men against staring or 'ogling' at women. This aggressive masculine gaze was considered reprehensible, argues Rosemarie Garland Thomson, not only because it indicated a lack of self-control and civility which ran contrary to contemporary notions of gentlemanly behaviour, but also because it revealed a sexual hunger which had the potential to disrupt familial relationships based on the chastity and virtue of women within the family unit.[434] Erasmus Jones attested: 'Nothing can be more indecent, when a beautiful Creature is passing the Street, than for an old libidinous Fellow to pursue her almost out of Sight with a lecherous Look.'[435] Illustrating the offence that this sort of staring could cause, one 'victim' of an ogler reported to Mr Spectator:

> I am, Sir, Member of a small pious congregation…much the greater Part of us indeed are Females, and used to behave our selves in a regular attentive Manner, till very lately one whose Isle has been disturbed with one of these monstrous *Starers*: He's the Head taller than any one in the Church; but for the greater Advantage of exposing himself, stands upon a Hassock, and commands the whole Congregation, to the great Annoyance of the devoutest part of the Auditory; for what with Blushing, Confusion, and Vexation, we can neither mind the Prayers nor Sermon.[436]

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Many commentators recognised that it was not just men who were guilty of throwing imprudent looks at the other sex. Garland writes that female staring, especially when it was directed at men, was condemned because it compromised

[432] Anon., *The Polite Academy* (London, 1762), pp. 9-10.
[433] *The Spectator*, No. 354 (April 16th 1712).
[434] R. G. Thomson, *Staring: How We Look* (Oxford, 2009), p. 69.
[435] E. Jones, *The Man of Manners* (London, 1737), p. 38.
[436] *The Spectator*, No. 20 (20th March 1711).

female virtue.[437] The Irish conduct writer Wetenthall Wilkes actively warned women against leading men on with 'wanton or oblique Glances of the Eyes'.[438] As Wilkes noted, the reason why this behaviour was considered inadvisable was because many men viewed these glances as signs of affection. It was attested in *The Polite Academy* that the 'eye discovers the sentiment of the heart, therefore be careful to keep a watch over wandering for some men are so vain, especially your oglers, as to present to know the language of the heart by the motions of the eye'.[439] *The Whole Duty of a Woman* also informed women: 'Men look on the *Eyes* as the *Hearts Interpreters*, and gather more Assurance from them of Encouragement, than from the *Tongue*, their Language being more significant and observable to Men'.[440]

Rules that directed the behaviour of the eyes also varied in different social contexts. Nowhere were the looks of the eyes meant to be more closely regulated than in God's house. This was because in church the eyes were expected to be metaphorically turned to the contemplation of heaven, God and the soul. *The Polite Academy* told readers that when at church 'let not your Eyes rove in Search of Acquaintance'. It was added: 'when you go to your Pew, cast not your Eyes at anyone' and 'keep your Eyes modestly fixed upon the Minister.'[441] Nonetheless, commentators noted that this sort of advice was frequently 'neglected by young ladies' who 'come to church to see and be seen.'[442] The satirical novelist and Reverend Jonathan Swift certainly lamented that many young women who attended his sermons 'have their eyes and imagination constantly engaged in such a circle of objects, perhaps to gratify unwarrantable desires, that they never once attend to the business of the place.'[443] As a result of the eyes' close association with the soul, the way individuals 'looked' was therefore subject to strict regulation and control in polite society.

The presence of a blush was considered an equally important signifier of politeness. In the first instance, the blush was considered a defining attribute of beauty. This was because it was believed to evoke pleasing sentiments in those who

[437] Thomson, *Staring*, pp. 69-70.
[438] W. Wilkes, *A Letter of Genteel and Moral Advice to a Young Lady* (London, 1744), p. 58.
[439] *The Polite Academy*, p. vii.
[440] *The Whole Duty of a Woman*, p. 46.
[441] Ibid, pp. 8-9.
[442] *The Polite Academy*, p. 7.
[443] J. Swift, 'On sleeping in Church,' *Sermons of the Reverend Dr. Jonathan Swift* (Glasgow, 1763), pp. 324-5.

beheld it, and to suggest inner morality in those that displayed it. *The Lady's Present to the Fair Sex* attested that nothing 'gives more Grace to a young Female Beauty than a becoming Blush.'[444] Burke also wrote that: 'Beauty in distress is much the most affecting beauty. Blushing has little less power.'[445] In particular, the presence of a blush was thought to suggest modesty, itself a key aspect of behavioural politeness. The association between modesty and blushing is found in Bernard Lynch's account of the corporeal processes that occasioned the blush. He explained:

> A sudden painful *Idea* renders a quicker Circulation of the Blood, whereby a greater Quantity of it is thrown upwards, through the larger Branches of the *great Artery*, from the Heart, and makes it appear in the superficial Vessels of the Face, Neck, and Breast, which produces what we call a *Blush*.[446]

In view of this, if people failed to blush in response to immodest scenes or imprudent forms of behaviour, it was thought to signify that they were impolite. In *The Guardian,* Joseph Addison's cousin Eustace Budgell proposed that it was only an imprudent man who 'can break through all the Rules of Decency and Morality without a Blush'.[447] In the same journal the imprudence of a self-acknowledged fortune hunter named Will Bareface was also highlighted in reference to his disdain of the blush. The rude Mr Bareface stated:

> I never knew any but you musty Philosophers applaud Blushes, and you your selves will allow that they are caused, either by some real Imperfection, or the Apprehension of Defect where there is not any; but for my part I hate Mistakes, and shall not suspect my self wrongfully.[448]

The Scottish physician and conduct writer John Gregory agreed with these assertions, proposing: 'When a girl ceases to blush, she has lost the most powerful charm of beauty'.[449] In this mode, blushing was perceived as an index of a person's modesty and, correspondingly, their beauty and politeness.

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[444] Anon., *The Lady's Present to the Fair Sex* (London, 1755), p. 26.
[445] Burke, *A Philosophical Inquiry*, p. 91.
[446] Lynch, *Guide to Health*, p. 323.
[447] *The Guardian*, No. 38 (24th April 1713).
[448] Ibid.
[449] J. Gregory, *A Father's Legacy to His Daughters* (Edinburgh, 1774), p. 26.

The blush was also presented as a key corporeal expression of femininity. As women were thought to be the most modest of the two sexes, it was expected that they would blush with greater frequency than men. *The Lady's Present to the Fair Sex* proposed that no women were as likely to blush as young virgins. It was said that modesty 'appears in the face of a virgin in particular, in calm and meek looks, where it makes such an impression, that it seems from thence to have acquired the Name of Bashfulness'. It was added that nothing 'gives greater Grace to a young Female Beauty, than a becoming Blush, and a due sense of Shame.'[450] The identification of blushing as a signifier of femininity is also shown in the way that blushing was sometimes seen as a sign of effeminacy in a man. Gregory, for one, warned gentlemen that blushes 'may be a weakness and encumbrance in our sex.'[451]

Nevertheless, there was some concern among commentators about what it was that women were thinking about to make them blush. Some commentators suggested that blushing was occasioned by women having 'impolite' and 'in-pure' thoughts. Turner noted that while the 'Imagination of a joyful Matter causeth a pleasant and serene Countenance', anything shameful which was 'seen or thought of' produced a blush. He immediately added: 'I need not say what lustful Thoughts produce, or how soon and strangely this Faculty employ'd about them, does affect the Genitals.'[452] By placing these assertions next to one another Turner made it clear what he thought it was that produced the blush. Later in the century Bennet also warned that: 'A girl should *hear*, she should *see*, nothing that can call Forth a blush, or even stain the *purity* of her mind.'[453] However, most authors saw the blush as the product of innocent embarrassments and criticised those who thought otherwise. Gregory proposed:

> Pedants, who think themselves philosophers, ask why a woman should blush when she is conscious of no crime. It is a sufficient answer, that Nature has made you to blush when you are guilty of no fault, and has forced us to love you because you do so. -- Blushing is so far from being necessarily an attendant on guilt, that it is the usual companion of innocence.[454]

[450] *The Lady's Present to the Fair Sex,* p. 26.
[451] Ibid, p. 27.
[452] Turner, *Treatise on Diseases Incident to the Skin*, p. 108.
[453] Bennet, *Letters to a Young Lady*, vol. 2, p. 44.
[454] Gregory, *A Father's Legacy to his Daughters*, p. 27.

The expressions of the mouth and lips were also inscribed with various identity meanings. Emphasising the expressiveness of the mouth, Goldsmith wrote: 'the mouth and lips, next to the eyes, are found to have the greatest expression. The passions have great power over this part of the face; and the mouth marks its different degrees, by its different forms.'[455] In turn, various identity associations were accorded to different sorts of smiles. In *The Guardian* it was said that there were five different sorts of 'smilers':

> The Dimplers,
> The Smilers,
> The Laughers,
> The Grinners,
> The Horse-Laughers.[456]

Of all these smiles the 'dimple' was identified as the most beautiful because it was said to be practiced to 'give a Grace to the Features'. This was a smile that was also recognised to be popular among women who desired not to disorder the beauty of their countenance with the 'Ruffle of a Smile'. *The Guardian* praised the display of this smile as it was said to demonstrate modesty. It was noted, for example, that young widows often affected this smile to enable them to appear easy in company while following the strict rules of decency that were necessary in their situation in life. The 'dimple' smile, when employed by women, was consequently believed to be best means of displaying beauty and modesty.

However, *The Guardian* cautioned readers that 'the dimple' was subject to frequent misuse by effeminate fops. It was asserted:

> The Effeminate Fop, who by the long Exercise of the Countenance at the Glass hath reduced it to an exact Discipline, may claim a Place in this Clan. Yet see him upon any Occasion, to give Spirit to his Discourse, admire his own Eloquence by a Dimple.[457]

[455] Goldsmith, *An History of the Earth*, vol. 2, p. 89.
[456] *The Guardian*, No. 29 (14th April 1713).
[457] Ibid.

The dimple, when employed by men, was thus believed to suggest that the individual employing it was vain and self-satisfied and effeminate rather than 'modest' or 'polite'. This was also a sentiment expressed by Fielding. He emphatically stated that 'far from indicating Goodness', this sort of smile, when displayed by men, was an 'Assurance to the contrary.'[458] This evidence demonstrates that 'the dimple' only had 'polite' resonances when used by women.

Whilst when certain social actors affected 'the dimple' it was judged negatively, the grin was universally abhorred. Towle wrote that one should take 'special Care not to make any Kind of Faces; that is, such as grinning, winking, or putting out your Tongue, and the like; for that will make you despised.'[459] The distasteful aspects of the grin were also examined in *The Spectator.* In one issue the narrator discussed a grinning competition he had recently seen at a country fair. The first competitor, it was explained, was a 'black swarthy *French Man'*, who was aided in affecting a horrible grimace because his face already had a 'naturally withered look and hard features'.[460] Yet, despite his valiant efforts this competitor was quickly defeated by an 'angry Jacobite' whose grin was said to be so fierce that it had caused half a dozen women to miscarry. The Jacobite's angry grin proved no match against the grin of the next competitor, a country cobbler, who 'At the very first Grinn…cast every Human Feature out of his Countenance; at the second…became the Face of a Spout; at the third a Baboon, at the fourth the Head of a Base-Viol, and at the fifth a pair of Nut-Crackers'.[461] The grin was consequently considered a sort of smile that was displayed only by people of the lower orders, political dissenters and those of a different national extraction, who were not aware, or concerned, that this action was 'impolite'.

Contemporaries were also censured for laughing. This is because laughing was thought to distort the appearance of the face and render it ugly. Chesterfield told his son that laughing displayed rusticity, involved a 'shocking distortion of the face' and

[458] Fielding, *Miscellany*, vol. 1, p. 193.
[459] *The Young Gentleman and Lady Instructed*, p. 137.
[460] *The Spectator*, No. 173 (18th September 1711).
[461] Ibid.

was 'the characteristic of folly and ill manners.'[462] Likewise, in *The Guardian* laughing was presented as a sign of foolishness. It was stated:

> the Laugh of Men of Wit is for the most part but a faint constrained kind of Half-Laugh, as such Persons are never without some Diffidence about them; but that of Fools is the most honest, natural, open Laugh in the World.[463]

Several medical authors also waded into this debate, seeking to demonstrate that laughing was ill-advisable for health. Short, for one, observed that 'if Laughter be continued to a great Excess, it winds up the Spring of the Fibres still higher, and throws them into a violent Convulsion'. Continuing on, he noted how laughing could cause 'Life it self' to be at hazard'. He added that this was 'why People may be tickled, and laugh themselves to Death.'[464]

In spite of this, other commentators recognised that preventing people from laughing was likely to be impossible. Accordingly, authors such as Towle instructed readers on how to laugh 'politely'. It was advised to laugh only a little, when everyone else was, and never cruelly at other people's misfortune. Towle wrote:

> To laugh properly follow these Rules, and by them you will know how to laugh in Season, and with Decency. When any Thing that is funny happens in Company, you will see it causes a Laugh, if it doth, you are at Liberty to laugh too; but then govern your Laughter, let it not exceed the Rules of Reason, that is, to too great a Pitch; for a laugh too loud is a Fault, it shews People to be rather soft than not, and you are often censured for it, and your Judgement called in Question.[465]

Women were also told that it was especially important that they should not laugh imprudently. *The Lady's Companion* certainly mocked young women who were always smiling. It was proposed that 'one who thinketh she must always be in a Laugh, or of a broad Smile, because Good-Humour is an obliging Quality' was a ridiculous woman.[466] Women were censured on this account because contemporaries noted that many of the things people laughed at were rude. This was a particular problem because, while crude humour was compatible with older 'bawdy' and robust notions

[462] Chesterfield, *Letters to his Son*, pp. 268-9.
[463] *The Guardian*, No. 29 (14th April 1713).
[464] Short, *Discourse Concerning the Causes and Effects of Corpulency*, p. 24.
[465] *The Young Gentleman and Lady Instructed*, p. 141.
[466] Anon., T*he Lady's Companion; or, An Infallible Guide to the Fair Sex,* 2nd edition, vol. 1 (London, 1740), p. 87.

of masculinity, such things were thought inappropriate for women to laugh at. Towle summarised why this was the case. He stated:

> Ladies should be more circumspect in their laughing than Gentlemen, for what is more than decent in a Man, is rather immodest in a Lady, as they are (or ought to be) more reserved and delicate than Gentlemen in general :--- Gentleman very often laugh at those Things which are immodest in them, and what should it be for Ladies to laugh also?[467]

Smiling and laughing, along with many other expressions of the face, were therefore strictly regulated in first three quarters of the eighteenth century as they were thought to reveal the nature of a person's character and the extent of their civility and politeness.

Cosmetics and the 'Picts'

From the mid-seventeenth century a range of books, including Thomas Jeamson's *Artificall Embellishments* (1665) and Johann Wecker's *Arts Master-Piece; Or, the Beautifying Part of the Physick* (1660) provided women with instruction on how they could prepare various facial ointments, washes and creams. During the eighteenth century commercially produced lead-based face paints and rouges, and face-patches in the shape of small circles and stars that allowed women to hide spots and draw attention to their more attractive features, also became popular. These cosmetics enabled female contemporaries to manipulate and 'improve' aspects of their appearance in relation to prevailing notions of beauty.

In the first half of the century women's use of cosmetics was a subject of concern to many commentators. This was because they feared that cosmetics were enabling women to construct their own potentially deceptive personal identities. Indeed, in *The Tatler*, *The Spectator* and *The Guardian,* attacks were frequently levelled against 'Picts' or ladies who 'painted'. One correspondent to the *Spectator* wrote to Mr Spectator to urge him to warn other members of society about the deception of women who 'painted'. He informed the narrator: 'They are some of them so Exquisitely skilful in this Way, that give them but a Tolerable Pair of Eyes to set up with, and they will make Bosom, Lips, Cheeks, and Eye-brows, by their own

[467] *The Young Gentleman and Lady Instructed*, p. 141.

Industry'.[468] Yet, the language employed in advertisements for cosmetics suggests that this was precisely the appeal of such products. The 'Famous Bavarian Red Liquor', which was advertised in *The Spectator,* proclaimed that it gave: 'such a delightful blushing Colour to the Cheeks of those that are White or Pale, that it is not to be distinguished from a natural fine Complexion, nor perceived to be artificial by the nearest Friend'.[469]

This issue of deception is revealed in other parts of the letter sent to the *Spectator* mentioned above. The correspondent stated of his own experience: 'As for my Dear, never Man was so inamour'd as I was of her fair Forehead, Neck and Arms…but to my great Astonishment, I find they were all the Effect of Art'.[470] The subject of the man's concern appears not to have been that his wife was not as beautiful as he had first thought, but rather that she had deceived him and was thus not the woman of character he had believed. This suggests that concerns relating to the use of cosmetic products centred around fears that they were enabling individuals to mask their true characters.

The fact that no beauty manuals were published in the first half of the century suggests that the use of cosmetic products was generally disparaged by polite commentators in this period. This is also indicated by the way that authors who wrote about cosmetics emphasised the health risks associated with their use. The conduct author François Bruys certainly warned older women that by using such 'arts' they were only hastening their inevitable deaths. He stated:

> To be sure, wilt thou endeavour to conceal the Ravages of Age, and with all the deceitful Powers of Cosmeticks, smooth and plump up the Wrinkles of thy Brow. The natural *Lillies* and *Roses* of thy Bosom being withered, thou wilt be for laying on artificial Colours: But all to no Purpose; for, maugre all the Art and Paint in the World, the Deformities of Old Age will show themselves. AND whatever Secret the Tire-Women may bragg of, all her Skill cannot recover fading *Beauty*; and she is so far from giving it *new Life*, that she only hastens its *Death*.[471]

[468] *The Spectator*, No. 41 (17th April 1711).
[469] Ibid., No. 428 (11th July 1712).
[470] Ibid., No. 41 (17th April 1711).
[471] F. Bruys, *The Art of Knowing Women; or, The Female Sex Dissected* (London, 1730), pp. 112-3.

Attacks on the use of cosmetics softened slightly in the second half of the century as 'politeness' gradually fell into decline and was replaced with new ideas of sensibility which focused on the cultivation of the mind rather than the expression of the body. This situation gave contemporaries the freedom to express themselves through the use of various forms of external adornment. This is evidenced by the publication of a wave of beauty manuals in this period, including *The Art of Beauty* (1760), *Letters to the Ladies* (1770) and *The New London Toilet* (1778). These books excused women's use of cosmetics by presenting beauty, either natural or cultivated, as an essential commendation for women in accordance with new sentimental ideas of femininity. *The Art of Beauty* stated:

> There is nothing so charming as a lively and wholesome complexion, which in a great measure answers the end of beautiful features, where they are wanted: and as the very severest people allow, that beauty is a great recommendation, if not absolutely necessary to the fair sex; woman are therefore not only justifiable in being solicitous about this matter, but in taking every method to remedy, by art, the defects of Nature.[472]

Thus, from the 1760s women's use of cosmetic products became more culturally acceptable because beauty was increasingly presented as an essential aspect of femininity.

Yet, in the 1780s commentators once again became exercised against the use of heavy cosmetic products. In the first instance, the diminishing popularity of cosmetics was caused by the growing importance of 'natural' beauty for women in conduct literature and beauty manuals, and its association with various moral characteristics. Indeed, in the later stages of the century, rather than physical attributes, beauty was chiefly associated with moral and behavioural characteristics such as cleanliness, simplicity, health, softness and delicacy. Illustrating this series of associations, in his over-inflated description of the benefits of waking up early, Bennet wrote:

> I do not know a practice, which I should *more* recommend, whether devotion, health, beauty, or improvement of the mind, were the objects in view. How cheerful and how animated are the mediations of the morning! What a

[472] *The Art of Beauty*, p. 25.

> delightful bloom flushes into the cheeks from its balmy exhalations! What an unspeakable cheerfulness glides in to the soul from hearing the devotional matins of the lark, and from beholding the new-born scenery of nature! How necessary is such a regimen to preserve that sweetness of complexion, and of breath; which are the very essence and *perfume* of beauty![473]

From the 1780s onwards cosmetic artifice was thus presented as the antithesis to 'natural' beauty.[474] The anonymous author of *The Art of Preserving Beauty* implored: 'let the ladies beware, lest in the triumph of superlative beauty, they fall a sacrifice to the ambition of futile allurements.' It was added: 'Let not false refinement induce them to destroy that inestimable blessing, Health, which alone can give fragrance to the lip, bloom to the countenance, and lustre to the eye.'[475]

In the later stages of the century the declining popularity of heavy cosmetics, such as paint and rouge, was also caused by the fact that they were seen as French cultural imports. This association is revealed in texts published earlier in the century. Spence wrote: 'The Covering each Cheek all over with a burning Sort of Red Colour, has long been looked upon in a neighbouring Country to be as necessary to render a Fine Lady's Face completely beautiful'.[476] In *The Chinese Spy* (1765), a French book that criticised European manners which was supposedly written by a Chinese diplomat during his travels around Europe, it was also remarked that women in Paris 'cover themselves with a white mastich, extremely thin, and over it they lay on a red colour, with the help of a pencil.' It was added: 'These masks are so ingeniously made, as to imitate faces, and strangers continually mistake them.'[477] For this reason, in the years after the French Revolution when the British elite sought to distance themselves from over-elaborate forms of French decadence, the popularity of heavy cosmetics started to decline in Britain.

[473] Bennet, *Letters to a Young Lady*, vol. 2, p. 33.
[474] G. Vigarello 'Nature and Artifice' in P. McNeil (ed.), *Fashion: Critical and Primary Sources,* vol. 2, (Oxford & New York, 2009), p. 137.
[475] *The Art of Preserving Beauty*, p. 10.
[476] Spence, 'Crito', p. 49.
[477] A. Goudar, *The Chinese Spy; or, Emissary from the Court of Pekin, Commissioned to Examine into the Present State of Europe,* vol. 2 (London, 1765), pp. 147-8.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that how the face was perceived as a signifier of identity went through several radical transformations during the long eighteenth century. In the early modern period, when identity was believed to be located in the immaterial substance-based entity of the soul, the static appearance of the face was presented as an accurate measure of a person's identity. However, in the late seventeenth century followers of mechanistic philosophy, such as John Locke, challenged this belief, arguing that personal identity was chiefly located in the mind. This philosophical shift thus disavowed the traditional understanding that the face represented a reflection of the soul, and rendered the appearance of the face 'meaningless' as a signifier of personal identity.

Yet, the problem was that in an age experiencing dramatic social and cultural change in the wake of extensive urbanisation and commercialisation, contemporaries recognised that appearances were more important than ever. This was because it was the distinctiveness of individual faces that offered them a way of working out who someone was amid the 'faceless' urban crowd. It was this practical dilemma that led to the development of 'politeness' as a socially agreed upon set of social behaviours which outlined the various ways that the body, as a social actor, conveyed information about aspects of a person's identity or inner 'self'. This is demonstrated in the way that popular polite discourses from the first three quarters of the century presented the expression of the face and its features as signifiers of politeness, personal character and inner morality.

However, after the 1760s politeness increasingly fell into decline as contemporaries progressively found it an insincere system of manners devoid of any real value to the formation of the individual 'self'. The cultural vacuum left by politeness, in turn, appears to have preceded the resurgence of popular interest in physiognomy at the end of the century. This is because new 'scientific' models of physiognomy, formulated by the likes of Lavater, offered contemporaries a means of uncovering what the static appearance of the face and its features indicated about an individual's 'inner' character or 'self'. Therefore, this chapter has demonstrated that over the course of the eighteenth century the body went from being conceived as a social actor, the visible appearance of which evidenced information about a person's

character, to an entity whose particular make and form defined the character of the 'self'.

4. Hair and Head

Introduction

As a signifier of a person's identity the appearance of the hair is inscribed with a multitude of different meanings. Firstly, as part of the individual body, the colour and texture of the hair reveals biological information about a person's ancestry, age and race. Yet, hair is also frequently conceptualised as a social 'object'. This is because attitudes towards hair and hairstyles vary across different historical periods and cultures. It is also because individuals often actively alter the appearance of their hair to communicate various sorts of information about their character, social status, gender, ethnicity, nationality and religion. Whether considered as an extended part of the individual body or a social object, the appearance of the hair thus conveys a range of information about a person's identity.

In the last thirty years, hair has become a subject of interest to eighteenth-century historians. Historical interest in hair was first sparked by Pointon, who in her examination of elite portraiture demonstrated the significance of the wig as a signifier of masculinity.[478] Since the publication of this work historical research on the subject of the hair has developed in several different directions. This is demonstrated in an issue of *Eighteenth-Century Studies* devoted specifically to this topic published in 2004.[479] Whilst Amelia Rauser's paper explores the cultural anxieties that 'macaronis' excited by adorning their hair in ways that were considered feminine, other articles show the various ways that different hairstyles and wigs were used to indicate information about a person's professional status and class.[480]

This chapter will seek to contribute to this scholarship by analysing several different aspects of the relationship between hair and identity in the eighteenth century. Initially, it looks at the gendered associations attached to the head and how it functioned as a symbol of authority in elite culture. It then examines how humoural conceptions of the body informed how a person's temperament or 'complexion' was

[478] M. Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven & London, 1993).
[479] A. Rosenthal (ed.), Hair [Special Issue]*, Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38: 1 (2004).
[480] A. Rauser, 'Hair, Authenticity, and the Self-Made Macaroni', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38:1 (2004), pp. 101-117; M. Baker, '"No Cap of Wig but a Thin Hair upon it": Hair and the Male Portrait Bust in England around 1750', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38:1 (2004), pp. 63-77; M. Gayne, 'Illicit Wig-Making in Eighteenth-Century Paris', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38:1 (2004), pp. 119-137.

judged in reference to the colour of the hair. The next part of the chapter investigates how different sorts of hair colouration were explained in relation to climate and ancestry. Finally, the last two sections explore the different ways in which the hair was decorated and displayed by men and women, and how fashions for ornamenting the hair changed over the course of the century in accordance with shifting gender mores. Overall, this analysis evidences the ways that contemporaries, when able, altered their appearance to conform with various categories of identity as they were associated with different aspects of the appearance of the visible body.

Gendering the Head

In his *Dictionary* Johnson noted that many usages of the word 'head' referred to it as an authority, or as a site, source, or location of power. Definitions included: 'Power; Influence; Force; Strength; Dominion', 'Chief; Principal Person; One to Whom the Rest are Subordinate; Leader; Commander, 'Place of Honour; First Place, 'Place of Command' and 'That which Rises to the Top'. Along with its significance as a symbol of power, the head was recognised as the corporeal 'authority' that governed the actions of the body. Whilst the sensory organs located on the head were recognised as the means by which individuals engaged with the world around them, the brain was seen as the corporeal system that gave rise to the complex capabilities of the mind which facilitated the unique human faculties of consciousness, perception, thinking, learning, reason and judgement. John Weaver, writing on the anatomy of the body, attested: 'The *Head* is the noblest Part of the Body, as containing the *Brain*, wherein the Rational Soul more especially operates, and whereby all the animal Motions of the Body are moderated and determin'd.'[481] Dionis was in agreement and stated that the head was the throne from which the brain 'transmits her sovereign orders to all parts of the body.'[482] In *The Conference,* Le Brun summarised these views, quoting the assertion of the ancient writer Apuleius that 'the whole Man shews himself in the Head, and if that Man is the Epitome of the World, the Head may well be calculated the Epitome of the Man.'[483] Thus, in the first half of the eighteenth century, the head

[481] Weaver, *Anatomical and Mechanical Lectures upon Dancing*, p. 4.
[482] Dionis, *The Anatomy of Human Bodies*, p. 311.
[483] Le Brun*, The Conference,* pp. 43-4.

was simultaneously seen as the seat of the 'self' and a symbol of embodied social authority.

As a signifier of authority the head was inscribed with distinctive gender associations. From ancient times the upper parts of the body were considered 'nobler' than the lower and accordingly gendered male.[484] In the eighteenth century the head continued to be gendered as a masculine part of the body with the rest of the body, over which the head lorded, being considered 'feminine'. This sort of association is found in the different ways that the male and female head was discussed in popular discourse. While dialogues on the male head primarily pertained to the mind and understanding, women's heads were usually mentioned in relation to their appearance. Addison explained:

> This observation is so very notorious, that when in ordinary discourse we say a man has a fine head, a long head, or a good head, we express ourselves metaphorically, and speak in relation to his understanding; whereas when we say of a woman, she has a fine, a long or a good head, we speak only in relation to her commode.[485]

In respect to Addison's statement it could be assumed that for elite men the external display of the head was of little consequence. Instead, it seems that precisely because of the head's role as a symbol of reason, intellect and status, the display of the head was particularly significant for men. In the eighteenth century a range of texts emerged which detailed the appearance of the 'heads' of great men from their portraits. The artist Jonathan Richardson noted that portraits gave 'not only the Persons, but the Characters of Great Men.' He added: 'The Air of the Head, and the Mien in general, gives strong Indications of the Mind, and illustrates what the Historians say more expressly, and particularly.'[486] Similar assertions were made by James Granger in his *Biographical History of England* (1769), a work designed with the intent to show the different sorts of 'heads' displayed by great men. Granger sought to illustrate these differences by arranging his work into sub-chapters, arranged by class

[484] Magli, 'The Face and the Soul', in Feher, Naddaff & Tazi (eds), *Fragments for a History of the Human Body*, p. 94.
[485] J. Addison & R. Steele, *The Spectator*, No. 265 (3rd January 1712). It is worth noting that in his *Dictionary* Johnson defined the word commode as 'the head dress of women'.
[486] J. Richardson, *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* (London, 1715), p.12.

and profession, beginning with the portraits of the monarchy and ending with a consideration of those of the 'inferior professions.' The purpose of this arrangement, he qualified, was to enable examination of 'the personal history of the illustrious in every rank.'[487]

Penelope Corfield argues that because the head represented authority in eighteenth-century Britain, the decision to cover or uncover it was loaded with social meaning.[488] The wig, worn by almost all men in public life from the late-seventeenth century, was an important way in which male authority was symbolically displayed by the head. In 1782 the fashionable hairdresser and hair historian James Stewart recounted that at the beginning of the century: 'It was reckoned a scandal for young people to wear them' because 'loss of their hair, at that age, was attributed to a disease.' Yet, he added that eventually 'mode prevailed over the scruple', and that 'all ages and conditions wore them; foregoing, without any necessity, the conveniences of their natural hair.'[489] Showing how important the wig had become as a means of displaying social status and professional identity for men by the second half of the century, in 1770 the hairdresser, perfumer and amateur anatomist David Ritchie wrote:

> Men should dress suitable to their various ranks in life, whether as a magistrate, statesmen, warrior, man of pleasure, &c. for their hair, either natural or artificial, may be dress'd to produce in us different ideas of the qualities of men, which may be seen by actors, who alter their dress according to the different characters they perform.[490]

Consequently, the wig was seen as a symbol of masculine identity throughout the eighteenth century, with its distinctive appearance indicating information about the specific occupation, status, or profession of the gentleman wearer.

By shaving off their hair and covering their heads in wigs men prevented their identity from being judged in relation to the 'natural' colour or texture of their hair. This situation reflected the belief that men should be assessed according to their

[487] J. Granger, *A Biographical History of England*, vol. 1 (London, 1769), p. xi.
[488] P. Corfield, 'Dress for Deference and Dissent: Hats and the Decline of Hat Honour', *Costume*, 23 (1989), p. 71.
[489] J. Stewart, *Plocacosmos; or, the Whole Art of Hairdressing* (London, 1782), p. 193.
[490] D. Ritchie, *A Treatise on the Hair* (London, 1770), p.78.

understanding and actions, as demonstrated by the appearance of their wig, rather than their corporeal appearance. Another reason was because the wig stopped men from being negatively stereotyped in accordance with the natural colour of their hair. This sort of stereotyping is clearly evidenced in the way 'foreigners' were characterised in Ward's *London-Spy*. While Ward described the 'Spaniards' at the Royal Exchange as 'lank-haired formalists', he derided the Scots and Irish as 'lean carrionly creatures with reddish hair and freckly faces.'[491] The negative characterisation of the Scots in relation to their hair colour is also seen in Tobias Smollet's *Roderick Random* (1748). The ginger-haired Scottish protagonist remembered that when he came to London: 'I had dressed myself to the greatest advantage; that is, put on a clean ruffled shirt, my best thread stockings, my hair (which was of the deepest red) hung upon my shoulders, as lank and straight as a pound of candles.'[492] However, Roderick lamented that he had quickly realised that his red hair alone was 'sufficient to beget antipathy against [him], in all mankind' and immediately went out to purchase a wig.[493]

In contrast, in popular texts the female head was chiefly mentioned in relation to its appearance. This discussion tended to focus on the features of the head which contributed to the display of beauty. Addison wrote in *The Spectator*:

> The Head has the most beautiful Appearance, as well as the highest Station, in a human Figure. Nature has laid out all her Art in beautifying the Face: she has touched it with Vermillion, planted in it a double Row of Ivory, made it the Seat of Smiles and Blushes, lighted it up and enlivened it with the Brightness of the Eyes, hung it on each Side with curious Organs of Sense, given it Airs and Graces that cannot be described, and surrounded it with such a flowing Shade of Hair as sets all its Beauties in the most agreeable Light: In short, she seems to have designed the Head as the Cupola to the most glorious of her Works.[494]

As the 'natural' beauty of the head was gendered feminine, women were expected to wear their 'natural' hair. *Art's Master-Piece* proposed that one of the 'chiefest Ornaments' of a woman was 'a long Train of dishevelled Hair.'[495] Hogarth similarly rhapsodized about its 'natural' beauties. 'The form it naturally takes', he proposed,

[491] Ward, *The London-Spy Compleat*, p. 9, p. 15.
[492] T. Smollet, *The Adventures of Roderick Random,* vol. 1 (London, 1748), p. 97, p. 106.
[493] Ibid, p. 91.
[494] *The Spectator*, No. 98 (22nd June 1711).
[495] J. J. Wecker, 'The Epistle', *Arts Master-Piece: Or, the Beautifying Part of the Physick* (London, 1660).

was the 'most amiable.'[496] In 1770 the hairdresser Peter Gilchrist wrote in agreement that the hair was 'one of the greatest exterior ornaments which Nature hath bestowed on the human species.'[497] Assertions relating to the 'natural' beauty of women's hair thus mirrored contemporary associations between women and the body, and the identification of 'beauty' as a potential source of feminine authority. Andry summarised this view in his observation that: 'It is a common Saying, that a Woman who has fine Hair, has a fine Head.'[498] Consequently, throughout the eighteenth century the display of the head and hair differed between men and women in accordance with the identification of the head as a symbol of gendered authority.

Colours and Humours

In the first half of the eighteenth century, differences in the length and colour of the hair were generally explained in relation to the humoural consistency of the body (see chapter 1). The humours were believed to influence the growth of hair and dictate its colour because hairs were thought to be 'nourished with the Liquor attracted by their roots.'[499] In his *Medicinal Dictionary* Dr Quincy explained:

> When we examine the Hairs with a Microscope, we find that they have each a round bulbous Root, which lies pretty deep in the Skin, and which draws their Nourishment from the surrounding Humours: That each Hair consists of five or six others, wrapped up in a common Tegument or Tube…each part near the Root thrusting forward that which is immediately above it.[500]

As humoural medicine attested that men and women were fundamentally different in their humoural composition, this understanding was used to explain a range of variations in the growth and appearance of the hair between the two sexes. The singular presence of beards in men, for instance, was accounted for by the greater heat of male bodies. Cook was one medical commentator who explained that only men grew beards because they alone had the heat in their bodies that enabled hair to be produced on the face.[501] Will Fisher argues that beard growth was also directly

[496] Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty*, p. 28.
[497] P. Gilchrist, *A Treatise on the Hair* (London, 1770), p. 1.
[498] Andry, *Orthopædia*, vol. 2, p. 7.
[499] Cook, *An Anatomical and Mechanical Essay*, vol. 1, pp. 313-4.
[500] Quincy, *Lexicon Physico-Medicum; or, A New Medicinal Dictionary*, p. 190.
[501] Cook, *An Anatomical and Mechanical Essay*, vol. 1, p. 318.

associated with men's reproductive capabilities and identified as a key marker of sexual difference.[502] This is shown in the way that several authors accounted for the singular presence of beards in men by explaining that it was produced by un-absorbed semen. The growth of the beard during puberty was also presented as a key part of the transition from 'boy' to 'man.'[503] Dionis proposed:

> We observe there is a great correspondence between he seed and the beard, and that both the one and the other appear about the same time, namely, when the parts give over growing, for before the age of fifteen or sixteen years, the particles of which are formed are employed in the growth of the body, and consequently diverted, for a time, from producing seed and hair.[504]

Despite these associations, as Alun Withey demonstrates, during the eighteenth century most elite men were clean shaven because having a clean and 'open' face was seen as an expression of 'polite' masculinity.[505]

In a similar fashion, the 'moistness' of female bodies was used to account for why women tended to have thicker and longer hair than men, and why, unlike men, they did not go bald with old age. The journal *The British Apollo*, responding to a reader's question about why women had longer hair than men, answered that it was because women had a greater abundance of moisture in their heads in accordance with the humours that dominated their bodies.[506] *Aristotle's Book of Problems* also associated the growth of the hair on women's heads with their distinctive humoural consistency. It attested that during menstruation women's hair grew most quickly because of the increased quantities of moisture in their heads.[507]

Differences in hair colour were also thought to be informed by the specific balance of humours within a person's body. Cook proposed that 'the different Colours of the Hair' depended much 'on the different Qualities of the Humours that nourish

[502] W. Fisher, 'The Renaissance Beard: Masculinity in Early Modern England', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 54:1 (2001), pp. 173-174.
[503] Ibid, p. 176.
[504] Dionis, *The Anatomy of Human Bodies*, p. 345.
[505] A. Withey, 'Shaving and Masculinity in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Journal of Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 36:2 (2012), p. 229.
[506] *The British Apollo: Containing Two Thousand Answers to Curious Questions in Most Arts and Sciences, Serious, Comical, and Humourous*, vol. 1 (London, 1726), p. 278.
[507] *Aristotle's Book of Problems,* p. 3.

them.'[508] Correspondingly, hair colour was seen as an accurate measure of a person's humoural temperament or 'complexion'. Whilst blonde and black were generally thought to be the most attractive hair colours, brown hair, recognised as the commonest hair colour in Britain, was considered to indicate the healthiest balance of the humours within the body.[509] It was also thought to suggest good character. In *Aristotle's Compleat Masterpiece* it was proposed: 'He whose hair is of a brownish colour, and curleth not too much nor too little, is a well disposed man, inclined to that which is good, a lover of peace, cleanliness, and good manners.'[510] In Spence's opinion brown hair was also the most beautiful. He stated: 'I am a good deal persuaded, that a complete brown Beauty is really preferable to a perfect fair one; tho bright Brown giving Lustre to all the other Colors, a Vivacity to the Eyes, and a Richness to the whole Look'.[511]

In contrast, the exhibition of black hair was seen to indicate less favourable temperamental characteristics, especially when displayed by women. This was because hair of this colour was associated with a 'choleric' constitution which forecasted that a person was ambitious and full of passion. The marks of a hot and dry temperament, proposed Mackenzie, were 'black, thick, curling hair; and a rough, brown, hairy skin'.[512] Although this was seen as being indicative of good male qualities, as men were believed to have a dominance of hot and dry humours in their bodies, it was seen as a sign of disorder when displayed by women whose bodies were supposed to be essentially cold and moist.

Besides this, black haired women were thought to have some characteristic bodily abnormalities and characteristics due to their distinctive humoural make-up. Bracken observed that black-haired people 'perspire or sweat more than other Colours do, and that there-fore it behoves Women of these Complexions to keep their Skins well washed, and change their Linnen, & c. oftener than common.'[513] If women displayed black hair it was also thought to be owing to the greater presence of libidinal blood within their bodies. This meant that these women were considered more fertile

[508] Cook, *An Anatomical and Mechanical Essay*, vol. 1, p. 316.
[509] Turner, 'The Body Beautiful', p. 120.
[510] Anon., *Aristotle's Compleat Masterpiece,* 28th edition (London, 1764), p. 101.
[511] Spence, *Crito*, p. 12.
[512] Mackenzie, *The History of Health,* p. 182.
[513] Bracken, *The Midwife's Companion*, p. 282.

than others. Therefore, if you desired an heir for your estate, Bracken advised his male readers that it was probably best to marry a 'black-hair'd Woman' for women with hair of this colour were 'endow'd with such natural Heat and Vigour of the Constitution' that they were 'bless'd with being more fruitful in general than the rest of the Sex.'[514]

Fair hair was thought to be particularly aesthetically becoming when displayed by women. Hair of a blonde, 'bright' or yellow colour was thought to illustrate that a person was of a phlegmatic constitution, or had a dominance of cold and moist humours in their bodies. The doctor John Burton noted that people who had 'weak vessels' often had 'soft, thin, bright colour'd Hair.[515] This humoural composition was believed to produce a relaxed, passive temperament that was considered appropriate for women. Le Brun wrote: 'soft Hair shews a Nature gentle and tender.'[516] In opposition, the medical practitioner and astrologer Richard Saunders proposed in his popular work on physiognomy and palmistry, that 'fairness', when displayed by a man, showed effeminacy.[517] *Aristotle's Compleat Masterpiec*e also asserted: 'Hair of a yellowish colour shows a man to be 'willing to do anything, fearful, shamefaced, and weak of body.'[518] Blonde coloured hair was thus considered an attribute for women, but not for men, in accordance with the temperamental associations attached to its appearance.

Yet, several authors warned that women with hair of this colour were especially susceptible to diseases such as the 'green sickness.' Culpeper attested that this disease, most common among 'Virgins fit for a Man', brought about a 'changing of the Natural Colour into pale and green, with fairness, and heaviness of the Body, loathing of Meat, palpitation of the heart, difficult breathing, Sadness, Swelling of the Feet, Eye-lids and Face.'[519] Fair haired virgins were thought to be particularly subject to this disease as they had a lower quantity of blood in their bodies than other women, as indicated by the pale colour of their hair. Early marriage was therefore advised for these ladies because sexual intercourse, which was thought to excite the

[514] Ibid.
[515] Burton, *Treatise on the Non-Naturals*, p. 21.
[516] Le Brun, *The Conference*, p. 41.
[517] R. Saunders, *Physiognomie, and Chiromancie, Metoposcopie, the Symmetrical Proportions and Signal Moles of the Body, Fully and Accurately Explained* (London, 1671), p. 187.
[518] *Aristotle's Compleat Masterpiece*, p. 101.
[519] Culpeper, *A Directory for Midwives,* p. 233.

blood, was thought the only means of curing the green sickness in women who had fair hair and a phlegmatic constitution.

Of all the hair colours, red hair was considered most disordered and was regarded by some authors, such as Andry, as a 'deformity'.[520] This was because red hair was seen as an 'abnormality' produced by an un-healthy dominance of blood in the body. Andry proposed that when blood predominated in the body the hair follicles 'incline to a red glowing Colour.'[521] This, as in the case of women with black hair, was thought to create distinctive health problems for red-haired people. In his *Treatise on the Venereal Distemper* (1738), the leading French physician Pierre-Joseph Desault recounted that he had read and observed in his practice that 'the Distempers of Persons who have red Hair are more difficult to cure, and more dangerous in their Event; which probably depends from the particular Characteristick of the Humour that occasions red Hair'.[522] *Harris's List of Covent Garden Ladies* also warned clients of the potential pit-falls of seeking favours from red-haired women because of their bodily 'tendencies'. It was said of a young, red-haired Bet Ellis that she emitted 'an unsavoury effluvia, which alone is enough to damp the ardour of an elegant debauchee'.[523] At the end of the century Stewart Alexander, the proprietor of a fashionable hairdressing academy who wrote several books on hair, agreed with this view, stating that when they became hot, the breath and sweat of red-haired people began to smell 'very nauseous and disagreeable.'[524]

Red hair was also identified as a 'deformity' as a result of its association with menstruation. *Aristotle's Book of Problems* stated that red hair faded faster than any other colour with age because it was a corruption caused by the onset of the menses.[525] 'According to the Opinion of *Aristotle*', it was affirmed, 'redness is an infirmity of the Hair, for it is ingendered of a weak and infirm Matter; that is to say, of Matter corrupted with the Flower of the Women.'[526] This association was considered particularly unfavourable as menstrual blood and menstruating women were

[520] Turner, 'The Body Beautiful', p.120.
[521] Andry, *Orthopædia*, vol. 2, p. 11.
[522] P. Desault, *A Treatise on the Venereal Distemper* (London, 1738), p. 761.
[523] Anon., 'Bet Ellis, Chandos Street', *Harris's List of Covent Garden Ladies* (London, 1761).
[524] S. Alexander, *The Natural Production of the Hair* (London, 1795), p. 14.
[525] *Aristotle's Book of Problems*, p. 3.
[526] Ibid, p. 7.

considered 'polluting forces'.[527] The physician John Marten, in his book on venereal disease, proposed that 'the Breath of a Menstruous Woman will give a lasting Stain to Ivory or a Looking-Glass.'[528] However, if the menstruating woman presented a danger to the family ivory, then to the child begot from intercourse during the menses, there were even more perils. This was because conception that occurred during the menses was believed to produce sickly, puny, red-haired babies.[529] For this reason, people were generally advised to abstain from sexual relations during menstruation. In the erotic text *A New Description of Merry Land* men were certainly warned to steer clear of 'the Time of the Spring-Tides, which only flow four or five Days, once a month.'[530]

Another way in which it was feared that red-hair could be 'contracted' was via the breast milk. *The Midwife's Companion* warned that a child 'will sometimes get red hair if it is breast fed by a red-haired woman.'[531] Likewise, the physician Peter Shaw advised that a good nurse should have 'hair not red'.[532] This understanding was informed by the way humoural medicine accounted for the 'oeconomy' of fluids in the body. It was generally asserted that menstrual blood was nutrition used to feed the foetus when it was in the womb that was expelled from the body when a woman was not with child. If a woman delivered a child, however, it was believed that this blood was converted to milk that could be used to feed infants. The hiring of red-heads as wet-nurses was therefore discouraged as it was believed that the colour of their hair evidenced the continued presence of menstrual blood in their bodies, which could be passed on to the child via their milk (see chapter 5).[533]

The supposed libidinal nature of the blood that produced red hair meant red-haired women were believed to be much more sexually lascivious than others. Men with red hair, who were thought to have begot this colouration of the hair from the transferal of menstrual blood at the time of conception, or from breast milk, were also

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[527] P. Crawford, *Blood, Bodies and Families in Early Modern England* (Harlow, 2004), pp. 19-53; I. Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Women* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 28-46; S. Read (ed.), *Menstruation and the Female Body in Early Modern England* (London, 2013).
[528] J. Marten, *A Treatise on the Venereal Disease,* 7th edition (London, 1711), p. 168.
[529] P. Gabriel-Bouce (ed.), *Sexuality in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Manchester, 1982), p. 36.
[530] T. Stretzer, *A New Description of Merry Land Containing a Topographical, Geographical and Natural History of that County* (London, 1740), p. 46.
[531] Bracken, *The Midwife's Companion*, p. 282.
[532] Shaw, *A New Practice of the Physic,* vol. 2 (London, 1736) p. 553.
[533] Bracken, *The Midwife's Companion*, p. 274.

thought to be hyper-sexualised. In *Gulliver's Travels* (1726), it was said of the Hoyhnhnms: 'the *Red-haired* of both Sexes are more libidinous and mischievous than the rest.'[534] *Harris's List* also noted of a Miss Nunn of 15 Compton Street: 'If carroty locks create lewdness (as believed by some) we need not wonder at this lasses' fire, she is so amply stored with it both above and below.'[535] Red hair was thus widely regarded as a symbolic manifestation of heightened sexual 'fire' and 'desire' and accordingly considered an abnormality.

As red-heads were considered lascivious, several authors positively asserted that red-haired ladies were particularly fertile. Bracken observed: 'I cannot say I ever knew a red-haired Woman barren, if her Husband was any thing like a Man, and she within the Age of forty-five.' In cases where red-haired women did not fall pregnant Bracken proposed that it must be a failing on the part of the husband to carry out his proper 'dispatches'.[536] Such women, he therefore concluded, made useful wives for men who sought to produce an heir. If that was not enough to sell the qualities of red headed ladies then Daniel Defoe reasoned in his journal, the *Review*: 'A man certainly lies under less disadvantage with such a Wife, than a Black or a Fair one, because he is in less danger of…loosing her love by the Temptations of other men.'[537]

Hair colour was recognised to vary in accordance with changes brought to the humoural composition of the body at different stages in life. Cook proposed that children had white hair because their 'nervous Juices', which conveyed the humours to the hair, moved too slowly to allow them to be sucked up by the hair root.[538] Andry also wrote: 'In Infancy they are commonly nourished with a thin Bile, for which Reason most part of Children have their Hair of a flaxen Colour.'[539] Moreover, as the nervous juices were believed to become slower and more sluggish in the later stages of life, this was used to account for why hair went grey or white with age. Andry asserted: 'In old Age, the Hair takes its Nourishment…from that pitutious Humour which is called the white Part of the Blood, or the Lymph; for this is this Humour that prevails in old

[534] J. Swift, *Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World. In Four Parts. By Lemuel Gulliver Gulliver's Travel's* (Dublin, 1726), p. 243.
[535] Anon., 'Miss Nunn, 15 Compton St', *Harris's List of Convent Garden Ladies*.
[536] Bracken, *The Midwife's Companion*, p. 23.
[537] A. Wellesley Secord (ed.), *Defoe's Review*, vol. 2, book 5 (Indiana, 1938), p. 59.
[538] Cook, *An Anatomical and Mechanical Essay*, vol. 1, p. 316.
[539] Andry, *Orthopeadia*, vol. 2, p. 11.

People, and it is this that renders their Hair white.'[540] The presence of grey hair in older women was, in line with his understanding, explained in relation to the cessation of the menses, which was thought to lead to a decline in the moisture necessary for hair growth and colouration.

Colour, Texture, Climate and Inheritance

Along with individual humoural temperament, in the first half of the century the colour and texture of the hair was believed to depend on the climate in which a person lived. The popular anatomist Thomas Gibson asserted that the colour of the hair 'differs according to the Climate, or to the natural constitution of the party.'[541] Cook explained, in a similar manner, that it was 'very apparent' that the '*Ægyptians*, *Arabians, Indians, Spaniards* and *Italians*' were black haired because 'they inhabit hot Countries, and are much used to strong Wines and hot Diet.' In contrast, he observed that the '*English, Hollanders, Scotch*, and *Danes*' were generally 'bright haired, because they inhabit colder Countries, and perspire less.'[542] Such understandings were also thought to hold true for the texture of the hair. Gibson remarked that the hairs of 'those born in cold Countries' were 'most commonly streight', but that they were often 'curled in those that inhabit hot Climes.'[543] Cook supported this view, proposing that whether the hair was lank or curled depended on the 'different Degrees of Heat they suffer.'[544] Nonetheless, in the first half of the century, climatic factors often lost out to humoural or temperamental ones in terms of their imagined influence on the appearance of the hair.

From the 1760s this situation changed as commentators increasingly turned away from humoural accounts of corporeal variation and looked for new explanations that accounted for the physical differences between social actors. In particular, medical writers and popular commentators at this time began to explore how climate influenced the colouration and texture of the hair. In the first instance, authors sought

[540] Ibid.
[541] T. Gibson, *The Anatomy of Humane Bodies*, 6th edition (London, 1703), p. 366. This text was first published anonymously in 1682. After this it appeared in several enlarged and revised editions in 1684, 1688, 1694, 1697 and 1703. Henceforth it is the 6th edition published in 1703 that will be referenced.
[542] Cook, *An Anatomical and Mechanical Essay*, vol. 1, p. 318.
[543] Gibson, *The Anatomy of Humane Bodies*, p. 366.
[544] Cook, *An Anatomical and Mechanical Essay,* vol. 1, p. 321.

to demonstrate how particular climates produced specific hair colours. To account for these variations, employing 'enlightened' methods of analysis based on observation, classification and reason, commentators catalogued the different physical characteristics displayed by people from different parts of the globe. In his *Inaugural Dissertation,* Hunter provided an account of the differences in 'the external appearance of man, his countenance, his colour, the dimensions of his body, and other similar topics.'[545] He proposed that nowhere were the differences in the physical appearance of man greater than between 'those who live in different climates and inhabit widely-separated regions of the earth, very diverse from one another.'[546] One subject to which Hunter devoted a section of his work was 'Differences of the Hair.' Colour, he observed, was one of the most evident corporeal distinctions between people living in different climes. He also attested that the colour of the hair was often dependant on skin colour. It was stated:

> In all countries black hair always accompanies a dark colour of skin, or one which diverges from white. And, on the other hand, red or white hair is joined with white skin. And the colour of both, that is of the skin and the hair, seems to depend on the same causes, that is, the exposure to the air and heat.[547]

Hunter thus attempted to align aspects of the distinctive appearance of the hair with other differentials, such as the colour of the skin, which marked out peoples who were resident in different climes.

Other more popular authors made similar observations. Ritchie noted that in their 'natural' state, the hair of men under the tropics was 'quite black', that those who lived under the arctic pole were brown-haired, and that people from the 'artic pole to the 60th degree' were generally red-haired. Continuing, he proposed that only those from the 60th through to the 30th degree of latitude were 'fair'.[548] Stanhope Smith advanced comparable views in terms of the European climate, proposing that while the hair of the English was generally 'fair or brown', and the French 'black', Highlanders tended to display a mixture of black and red hair because of the elevated

[545] Bendyshe (ed.), *The Anthropological Treatises*, p. 360.
[546] Ibid.
[547] Ibid, p. 384.
[548] Ritchie, *Treatise on the Hair*, p. 18.

regions in which they lived.[549] In this mode, hair colour was thought to vary in accordance with the region in which people lived.

In the second half of the century, hereditary factors were also frequently cited alongside climatic models of explanation as a means of accounting for variations in the colour and texture of the hair. Ancestry was used to explain why people who lived in the same climate or part of the world often had hair of different colours. Ritchie noted that 'when one race of people continues fixed in the same place for a long time, without mixing with strangers', even if they removed to 'another climate, and abide by one another as before, it will be a long time before they alter their primitive colour.' He added: 'Such is the permanency of the human seed when it has received any well rooted quality.'[550] In his work Stewart provided evidence of this situation. He observed that while there were climates 'proper only to certain species; or certain species adapted to particular climates', experience showed that the removal of a person of one hair colour or complexion to another climate did not produce a change in their appearance. Stewart asserted: 'white people never become black in Africa, nor negroes white in America'. He argued that the only thing shown to bring about changes in complexion and the colour of the hair was a 'union between the sexes...who partake equally of the colours, features, and complexions of both'.[551]

Heredity was used to explain why British people displayed a mixture of different colours of hair. This variation was explained in relation to the historical mixing of European populations as a result of ancient invasions and the intermarriage between native 'Britons' and other Europeans. Interestingly, this hereditary mixing was presented as the source of British elite cultural superiority. Smith proposed that the superior ranks 'will always be first…according to the prevalent idea of national beauty; because, they have it, more than others, in their power to form matrimonial connections to this end.'[552] Historical matrimonial connections with other elite Europeans, indicated by the multitude of different hair colours displayed by the British, was thus seen as one reason why the British elite were so 'beautiful' and 'civilised'.

[549] Stanhope Smith, *An Essay on the Causes of the Variety of Complexion*, pp. 30-2.
[550] Ritchie, *Treatise on the Hair*, pp. 18-9.
[551] Stewart, *Plocacosmos,* p. 179.
[552] Stanhope Smith, *Essay on the Causes of the Variety of Complexion*, p. 71.

This understanding is also indicated by the way the British negatively characterised other European racial 'stocks' and nations in accordance with their singularity of hair colour. The French, for instance, were often negatively presented as being 'backward' through descriptions of their defining 'characteristics', such as their black hair and swarthy skin. In the same way, the red hair of the Highland Scots, a people understood to be historically cut-off from the rest of mainland Britain, was thought to indicate the 'backward' insular looking nature of their society, lack of intermarriage, and cultural exile from the rest of Britain and Europe. While published in the nineteenth century, Walter Scott's description of one of the Highland chieftains clearly indicates how the Highlanders' lack of interaction with other nations was thought to have rendered them 'backward' and barbarous, and how this characterisation was believed to be symbolically reflected in the red colouration of their hair. One chieftain, it was stated: 'was a wild shock-headed looking animal, whose only profusion of red hair covered and obscured his features…In my experience I have never met nothing so absolutely resembling my idea of an uncouth, wild and ugly savage.'[553] The mixture of hair colours displayed by the British was consequently seen as favourable evidence of their 'civilizational' inheritance from a variety of different European cultures.

Most of the climatic models used to account for distinctions in the hair colour and texture of people from different parts of the globe noted above were written by monogenists, that is, people who believed that all men descended from one common ancestor. Monogenists attested that differences in appearance were primarily explained by climatic variation and the inheritance of such traits from generation to generation. Generally, monogenist views were the most common in Britain during the eighteenth century. However, the later stages of the century witnessed the emergence of a small minority of polygenist commentators who proposed than different 'races' of men must have descended from different ancestors. Lord Kames, a firm advocate of this view, argued that differences in climate, environment or the state of society alone could not account for racial differences.[554] Correspondingly, these commentators

[553] W. Scott, *Rob Roy* (Edinburgh, 1817), p. 258.
[554] Kames, *Sketches of the History of Man*, vol. 1, p. 37.

increasingly sought to construct models that could replace the 'climatic' theories promoted by monogenists in order to support their arguments.

One theory which polygenists developed was that the black colour and curled texture of African's hair was owing to their weaker mental faculties and distinctive physiological make-up. The naval surgeon John Atkins proposed that Africans had naturally weaker fibres than adult Europeans, causing them to have a 'natural weakness of the brain.'[555] These accounts often fell back on older humoural theories of the body, while also drawing upon new forms of anatomical knowledge. Stewart asserted: 'Anatomy hath discovered that, in negroes, the substance of the brain is blackish; that the principal gland is entirely black, and their blood is of a much deeper red than that of white people; their skin is always hotter and their pulse quicker.'[556] This, Stewart proposed, accounted for the presence of black hair in African peoples. In this vein, the 'natural weakness' of African brains, was thought to account for the distinctive appearance of their hair.

Stewart also explained that the distinctive physiological make-up of Africans caused their highly textured hair. It appears that Stewart sought to highlight the distinctive texture of black people's hair because curly or frizzed hair had long been considered a sign of savagery. At the beginning of the century Le Brun had certainly proposed: 'Harshness of the Hair be a sign of a rough and savage Nature.'[557] Stewart endeavoured to provide anatomical evidence of African savagery in respect to the texture of African hair. He argued that the texture of 'negroes' hair was caused by the fact that their bodies were made up of a 'net-work of a more dense and tenacious substance' than those who were white. He continued that it was the density of this network that caused Africans' hair to become 'twisted' as it attempted to force its way out of the body. Stewart also attested that negroes' hair was of an inferior substance to that of white as the moisture which produced it was noxious. He stated that the moisture from which negroes' hair was produced 'diffuses a strong and disagreeable odour, because it is impregnated with that thick and matted grease, which hath been

[555] N. Saakwa-Mante, 'Western Medicine and Racial Constitutions: Surgeon John Atkins' Theory of Polygenism and Sleepy Distemper in the 1730s,' in B. Harris & W. Ernst (eds), *Race, Science and Medicine, 1700-1960* (London, 1999), p. 46.
[556] Stewart, *Plocacosmos,* p. 178.
[557] Le Brun, *The Conference*, p. 41.

long lodged in, and hourly oozes out, between the cuticle and the skin'.[558] Towards the end of the eighteenth century, distinctive physical characteristics, such as the colour and texture of the hair, were thus increasingly aligned with new ideas relating to different racial 'types'.

Periwigs and the Measure of the Man

From the mid-seventeenth century the periwig became an increasingly common article of dress for men after being popularised at the Restoration court by Charles II, who had acquired this style of dress while in exile in France. While wigs were originally used to mark out members of the traditional aristocratic and gentry elite, in the early eighteenth century they became common among the professional and merchant classes. Thus, men progressively sought to convey particular sorts of identity information by varying the styles of wig they wore.

Men were advised to think carefully about the style of the wig that they put upon their heads. *The Guardian* warned that it was necessary for men to show some 'genius' in the selection of their wig because it was seen as an 'Index of the Mind'. Chiefly the author emphasised that wigs should not be selected in accordance with whether they improved the wearer's looks. He proposed that this was because men who wore wigs for the purpose of beautifying themselves were seen to care more about their external appearance than the 'inward furniture of the Skull'.[559] Instead, he stressed that wigs should be selected in accordance with the social position and profession of the wearer.

As the century progressed, the wig also became a common feature of dress amongst the lower classes. In 1748 the travel writer Pehr Kalm observed that in Britain, 'Farm servants, clodhoppers, day labourers, farmers, in a word, all labouring-folk go through their usual duties with a perque on the head. Few, yes, very few, were those that wore their own hair'.[560] Nevertheless, there were several differences between the wigs worn by the upper and lower classes which enabled the social status of the wearer to be identified. For one, the elites would generally have worn wigs

[558] Stewart, *Plocacosmos*, pp. 178-9.
[559] *The Guardian*, No. 149 (1st September 1713).
[560] P. Kalm, *Kalm's Account of His Visit to England On His Way To America in 1748,* translated by Joseph Lucas (London, 1892), p. 52.

made out of the finest human hair. Stewart noted: 'Hair makes a very considerable article in commerce', and it could cost anything from 'five shillings to five pounds per ounce, according to its quality.'[561] The most valuable hair was that which was blonde and from the Northern European countries. This hair, suggested Stewart, was valued much more than hair from Spain, Italy and Southern France, as it was of a superior nature and could be easily bleached to make the white-haired wigs that were fashionable in the second half of the century. The elites would have also had a new wig made every year in order to keep up with the latest fashions. In addition, they would have possessed different sorts of wig for different social occasions.

On the other hand, the lower classes would have worn hand-me-downs, second hand wigs, or those made of cheaper materials such as horse or goat hair; known as the 'snug bob, or natty scratch'. Stewart remarked: 'All conditions of men were distinguished by the cut of the wig'. He observed that even among tradesmen there were distinctions in the sorts of wigs worn which indicated their profession. For instance, he noted that an important part of the coachman's livery was a wig which looked like 'the curled hair of a water dog.'[562] The quality, style, and appearance of the wig was thus perceived as a clear marker of a man's social status and profession.

In the 1760s, reflecting growing passions for naturalism that emerged in the wake of the 'sentimental revolution', commentators became concerned that men's wigs had become too ornate, fussy, large, and numerous in their variety. The 'English Periwig-Maker', who wrote *A Dissertation upon Head-Dress* (1767), proposed that while a 'fine easy head dress beautifies a man', the sorts of wigs that were fashionable at this time deformed him.[563] Illustrating how ridiculous the situation had become, the author mocked a man who had recently applied to him for a periwig that was fashioned in the style of an owl's head. He barbed: 'I could not imagine that all men would see such beauty in the owl's head upon a human body as did this gentleman.'[564] In the 1760s more 'natural' wig styles thus became fashionable as they were thought

[561] Stewart, *Plocacosmos,* p. 184.
[562] Ibid, p. 204.
[563] Anon., *A Dissertation upon Head-Dress; Together with a Brief Vindication of High Coloured Hair* (London, 1767), p. 4.
[564] Ibid, p. 7.

more befitting symbols of masculinity than those that were overly ornamented and 'fashionable'.

However, in the 1770s elaborate wigs made a come-back, although not without some criticism. A particular subject of commentators' concern was the development of macaroni fashions. The large, ornately decorated wigs worn by the 'macaronis' were one of most frequently cited objections to the appearance of these men. Rauser writes: 'the extravagant size of the macaroni's hairstyle seemed to speak at once of his embrace of artifice, decadence, and the pursuit of pleasure.'[565] There were two main reasons why these wigs sparked such widespread social anxiety. Firstly, as outlandish macaroni fashions were first popularised by young men who had been away on the European 'Grand Tour', they were seen as 'foreign' French or Italian imports, causing them to be treated with suspicion. Secondly, as Michéle Cohen has proposed, wigs came to represent a 'dilemma of masculinity' during this period.[566] This was because macaroni style wigs were considered effeminate and subverted the wig's traditional use as a symbol of refined masculine status and profession. In his comedic *Lecture on Heads* (1765), George Alexander Stevens joked that 'grammarians are at a loss, whether to rank them with the masculine or feminine, and therefore put them down as the Doubtful Gender.'[567]

In the 1790s wig wearing went abruptly out of fashion for men. This was due, in part, to the criticism of over-elaborate wigs that had been growing since the 1760s. More specifically, however, the decline of the wig was brought about by the dramatic political, social and cultural changes that occurred in the wake of the French Revolution of 1789. In particular, in order to prevent what had happened in France occurring in Britain, the British aristocracy sought to purge their culture of over-elaborate French styles and fashions, and to adopt forms of dress which were considered more personally authentic.[568] The introduction of the Duty on Hair Powder Act in 1795 also harried the demise of the wig. At the end of the century new short cropped hairstyles, inspired by neo-classicism, thus became increasingly popular

[565] Rauser, 'Hair, Authenticity, and the Self-Made Macaroni', p. 103.
[566] Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity,* 9.
[567] G. A. Stevens, *The Celebrated Lecture on Heads* (London, 1765), p. 4.
[568] Riberio, *Facing Beauty*, p. 198.

among men, with the wig only being retained by old men, members of the legal and medical profession and the clergy.

Towering Coiffures and Female Character

Throughout the eighteenth century women were expected to wear their 'natural' hair. Although it was women's 'natural' hair that was on show, when they were in public women always displayed their hair in elaborately decorated and ornamented styles. The reason for this was because women recognised that the appearance of their hair represented an important means by which they could display their 'beauty' and social status to others. Failure to dress the hair appropriately could also lead to negative social censure. It was stated in *Abdeker* that: 'Locks of Hair slovenly placed upon the Forehead, render the whole Countenance so odd that it cannot please.'[569]

From the end of the seventeenth century women's hairstyles were headed upwards in trajectory, getting progressively taller and bigger in size. In the first decade of the eighteenth century, the hair was generally worn in a frizzed or curled 'tower' on the top of the head. This 'tower' was then often adorned with pleats or a cap, with individual curls being hung from the temples. When these fashions first became popular they elicited some criticism from men. In an issue of *The Spectator* Addison revealed his distaste for women wearing their hair in this manner. Primarily his concern appears to have been due to the fact that these hairstyles made women taller than men. He stated:

> There is not so variable a thing in Nature as a Lady's Head-dress: Within my own Memory I have known it rise and fall above thirty Degrees. About ten Years ago it shot up to a very great Height, insomuch that the Female Part of our Species were much taller than the Men. The Women were of such an enormous Stature, that *we appeared as Grasshoppers before them*.[570]

He went on to add: 'For my own part…I do not love to be insulted by Women who are taller than my self'. Consequently, it appears that Addison was concerned with fashions for tall female headdresses because he believed they physically subverted gender norms, where women were expected to be both metaphorically and literally

[569] Le Camus, *Abdeker*, p. 20.
[570] *The Spectator*, No. 98 (22nd June 1711).

'lower' than men. In this way, it may be argued that Addison derided these fashions as he perceived them as a female challenge on male authority.

Between the 1720s and 1750s, probably much to Addison's relief, women's headdresses once again fell in height. Women at this time instead wore their hair in a 'simple coiffure', with curls or waves gathering around the face and the hair pinned to the back of the head. Sometimes hair styled in this fashion was further ornamented with the addition of pleats (fig. 4). In his *Analysis of Beauty,* Hogarth praised both the beauty of the curl and the fashion for braided hairstyles. He proposed: 'The most amiable in itself is the flowing curl; and the many waving and contrasted turns of naturally intermingling locks ravish the eye with the pleasure of the pursuit especially when they are put in motion by a gentle breeze'.[571] Hogarth added:

> Notwithstanding this, the present fashion the ladies have gone into, of wearing a part of the hair of their heads braided together from behind, like intertwisted serpents, arising thickest from the bottom, lessening as it is brought forward, and naturally conforming to the shape of the rest of the hair it is pinned over, is extremely picturesque.[572]

These fashions were thus praised as they were thought to display and enhance the 'natural' beauty of the hair and the women who displayed it.

After the 1750s women's hairstyles once again became much taller and larger in size, reaching much more dizzying heights than earlier in the century. These styles became especially ornate in the 1770s, when the general fashion was for women to style their hair towered and powdered upon the head, supported by wads of false hair and paddings, and greased with hog's grease or lard to keep it in place. The emergence of these fashions appears to have been owing to the identification of sophisticated forms of dress and hair styling as symbols of the nation's cultural refinement. One commentator proposed: 'The Hair has been considered in all ages, and particularly in civilized nations, as the greatest ornament of the human body'.[573] 'During the present age', the commentator continued, 'it has been carried to a higher degree of elegance than in former times, and has now become an essential part of the dress of both ladies

[571] Hogarth, *Analysis of Beauty*, p. 28.
[572] Ibid.
[573] Anon., *The New London Toilet* (London, 1778), p. 96.

and gentlemen.'[574] Elaborate hair styling was accordingly conceptualised as a marker of the sophistication of British elite culture in the 1770s and 1780s.

By providing advice on how the hair could be fashioned in different ways, an emerging genre of hairdressing manuals popular from the 1770s also presented hair styling as a means by which women could display their status and refinement to others. Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, certainly set herself apart from her aristocratic contemporaries by dressing her hair in an enormous tower supplemented with various ornaments including fruit, stuffed birds, ships in full sail, and small models of trees and sheep.[575] Writing on her elaborate fashions, *The Morning Post* reported: 'The Duchess of Devonshire is the most envied woman of the day in the Town.'[576] Elaborate hair styling was accordingly one means by which female contemporaries could stand out from the crowd and mark themselves out as leaders of fashion.

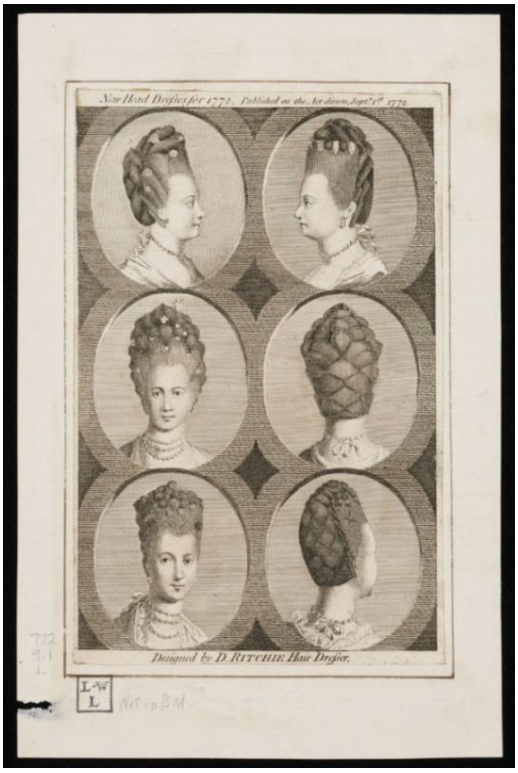

Figure 4. 'New Head Dresses for the Year 1770', from D. Ritchie, *Treatise on the Hair* (London, 1770).

[574] Ibid.
[575] A. Foreman, *Georgiana Duchess of Devonshire* (London, 1990), p. 35.
[576] *The Morning Post* (7th April 1775).

Then again, it is important to acknowledge that this sort of elaborate hairstyling was largely confined to the aristocracy on specific occasions when they appeared in public. Lower ranking elite women would always have dressed their hair more 'naturally'. Generally, most would have followed Gregory's advice on dressing, which was that women should always show 'good sense' in their clothing selection and hair styling. This approach, he asserted: 'will direct you to dress in such a way as to conceal any blemishes, and set off your beauties, if you have any, to the greater advantage.'[577] He told them that concern in this respect was essential as: 'You will not easily believe how much we consider your dress as expressive of your characters. Vanity, levity, slovenliness, folly, appear through it. An elegant simplicity is an equal proof of taste and delicacy'.[578] Similar advice was also given to older married women who were expected to dress more simply than the young. Lord Kames attested that: 'From a married women engaged in family concerns, a more staid behaviour is expected, than from a young woman before marriage; and consequently a greater simplicity of dress.'[579]

In the second half of the century, as in the case of men, there was also a growing cultural criticism against women who wore their hair in extremely elaborate styles. *Letters to the Ladies* stated: 'As the hair of the head seems to have been originally intended for ornament, so it has been dressed into all the various forms that ingenuity or caprice could invent'. It was added: 'Nothing more clearly discovers the fickle and fantastic of modern times, than the frequent alterations which have been successively introduced into the mode of dressing the hair.'[580] At no point in history were these fashions 'more extravagant', this commentator believed, than at present. In the author's mind the vast headdresses worn by women did nothing to augment the beauty of the body. In opposition, he saw this 'present fashion of dressing the hair' as a conspiracy brought about by 'peruke-makers and hair-dressers.' It was thus concluded that hair should be left natural and without adornment. Accordingly, female

[577] Gregory, *A Father's Legacy to His Daughters*, pp. 55-6
[578] Ibid., p. 57.
[579] H. Home, Lord Kames, *Loose Hints upon Education Chiefly Concerning the Culture of the Heart* (Edinburgh, 1781), pp. 230-1.
[580] *Letters to the Ladies,* p. 61.

readers were told: 'You are perfect by nature, my beautiful ladies', so do not 'make yourself ridiculous by art.'[581]

In the 1780s aristocratic fashions once again changed as women began to wear their hair in a more simplistic manner in a frizzed 'hedge-hog style'. During the 1790s this fashion also receded as women began to wear their hair down in a 'natural' tousled style. The emergence of these more 'natural' hairstyles was due, in part, to the growing conservatism in dress that followed the French Revolution, which had also caused men to throw off the wig. Yet, their emergence was also connected to the growing cult of sensibility and the increasing belief that women should devote more of their attention to the cultivation of their minds rather than their bodies. Mary Wollstonecraft presented women's desire to exercise sexual power over men through their appearance as a degradation that cheapened women. She stated that men, 'considering females rather as women than human creators', were guilty of endeavouring to 'make them alluring mistresses' rather than 'rational wives'.[582] The simple fashions in hair ornamentation that came into vogue later in the century appear to have reflected a shift where femininity was increasingly defined by inner morality, the mind, 'simplicity' and 'natural' beauty, rather than elaborate external appearances.

Conclusion

In the eighteenth century the colour, style and appearance of the hair was encoded with various different identity meanings and associations when displayed by men and women. This was owing to the distinctive ways that the head was conceived as a symbol of gender identity. Whilst male authority was believed to stem from its intellect, reason, understanding and profession, female status was thought to be derived from beauty, fertility, sexuality and knowledge of fashion. Over the course of the century how men and women wore their hair and ornamented their heads also changed in correspondence with changing notions of masculinity and femininity. This is shown in the way that men dispensed with the wig and women adopted more

[581] Ibid, p. 63.
[582] Wollstonecraft, *Vindication of the Rights of Women*, p. 2.

‘natural’ hairstyles which were considered more ‘personally authentic’ at the end of the century.

This chapter has also demonstrated that what the ‘natural’ appearance of the hair was thought to suggest about a person’s character changed over the course of the century. In the first half of the period, the colour and texture of the hair was primarily explained in relation to the humoural differences between social actors. In this way, differences in the colour and texture of a person’s hair was thought to evidence information about their humoural temperament, health, gender, age and place of residence. However, from the 1750s, when humouralism progressively fell into decline as a method of explaining corporeal distinctions between social actors, variations in the colour and texture of the hair were primarily explained in relation to regional and hereditary factors. At this time hair colour and texture also began to be viewed as characteristics that people were born with and could not change. Thus, by the end of the century the ‘natural’ appearance of the hair was seen as ‘natural’ evidence of a person’s social identity, as defined by their corporeality. Consequently, this chapter has demonstrated that over the course of the eighteenth century the ‘natural’ appearance of the body became a defining feature of a person’s social identity, causing contemporaries at the end of the century to adopt more ‘natural’ styles of adornment.

5. Breasts

Introduction

Although both men and women have 'breasts', the two soft rounded organs located either side of the chest, throughout Western history the breasts have almost singularly been identified as a defining part of the female body. This is because women's breasts are not only more visibly prominent than men's, but also as they alone contain the mammary gland which enables the secretion of milk. As signifiers of femininity, breasts have been coded with both 'good' and 'bad' cultural connotations. While the nursing breast has often been presented as a positive symbol of maternal femininity, the non-lactating breast has repeatedly been portrayed as an erotic entity that entices male excitement or aggression.[583] Consequently, the female breast has frequently been considered an embodied space where debates concerning two competing representations of woman as a sexual being, on the one hand, and 'mother' on the other, have been theoretically located.

Gender historians have argued that discourses pertaining to the breast reveal the way that women's bodies and gender roles were re-configured in reference to the changing demands of society during the eighteenth century. Jordanova proposes that at this time there was a significant asymmetry between the way that women's bodies and social roles were constituted.[584] This mirroring, Jordanova suggests, is clearly evidenced in the way women's idealised cultural 'occupation' of bearing and suckling children was progressively presented as a direct consequence of the reproductive functions of their bodies.[585] In her research Perry examines similar themes. She argues that contemporary discourses which promoted breast-feeding as a key expression of femininity were used to reduce the degrees of freedom permissible for the interpretation of female gender roles. Perry states:

> The locus – both symbolic and real – of this new appropriation of women's bodies for motherhood and for the state was the maternal breast…It was as if

[583] M. Yalom, *A History of the Breast* (London, 1997), p. 4.
[584] L. Jordanova., 'Natural Facts: a Historical Perspective on Science and Sexuality', in C. P. MacCormack & M. Strathern (eds), *Nature, Culture and Gender* (Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 49.
[585] Jordanova, *Sexual Visions*, p. 29.

> this organ became the site of the struggle over the maternal definition of women, staged in opposition to the sexual definition of women.[586]

Yalom speculates that the identification of the breast as a maternal symbol in the mid-eighteenth century was used to counter older representations of the breast as an erotic object of desire. This eroticisation of the breasts, Yalom argues, was predominately a male affair. She notes: 'In the graphic arts and in literature, the breasts were offered up for the pleasure of a male viewer or reader, with the intent of arousing him, not her.' Yalom proposes that identification of the breast as a maternal symbol in the mid-eighteenth century was a transformation brought about by men. This is because, she attests, this conceptualisation of the breast served men's desire to promote the female role of motherhood and to contain women's activities within the 'private sphere' of the home. [587]

Against this historiographical background, this chapter examines the display and appearance of the breasts in elite culture. Firstly it investigates how the breast was encoded with different gendered meanings at various stages of the female life cycle. Then it explores discourses concerning the display of the breasts and their conceptualisation as entities through which female beauty could be exhibited. The ensuing section investigates issues concerning the display of the breasts as objects of beauty, and how the social idiom of 'politeness' informed their exhibition. Finally, the chapter concludes by examining discursive representations of the nursing breast and how these portrayals were transformed over the course of the century in reference to changing social conceptions of gender. This analysis will illustrate the ways that discussions concerning various forms of social difference coalesced around specific parts of the body in eighteenth-century popular discourse.

Growing Breasts

In the eighteenth century the child's body was seen as an inherently malleable shapeless mass, the appearance of which could easily be re-formed and adjusted. Locke, for one, wrote that the body of the child was like 'white paper, or wax, to be

[586] Perry, 'Colonising the Breast', p. 194.
[587] Yalom, *A History of the Breast*, p. 90.

moulded.'[588] Lynn Sorge-English argues that cultural practices, such as the wearing of 'bodice coats' by boys and girls before the age of 3 or 4, also attest to the contemporary belief that children's bodies could, and should, be sculpted to ensure that they developed in a 'natural' manner.[589]

Numerous accounts abounded in this period which told: 'Girls could turn into boys, and men who associated too extensively with women could lose the hardness and definition of their bodies and regress into femininity'.[590] In part this situation arose because in the first half of the century the sex of a child was not thought to be readily discernible by the external appearance of their body. Instead, most commentators were of the belief that the child's body, irrespective of the actual sex of the child, was inherently female in its external appearance. The anatomist John Hunter stated that in early life the sexes had 'little to distinguish them from each other'.[591] Henry Manning, a medical author who wrote about female diseases, similarly observed:

> In the earliest years of life, the diseases incident to both sexes are, for the most part, perfectly similar; there existing then no cause to produce that diversity remarkable in the following periods, as the body has not yet acquired that particular disposition on which it depends.[592]

Around the ages of 11 or 12, commentators observed that the body began to externally acquire the 'secondary properties, which clearly characterise the male and female.'[593] In this vein, Goldsmith identified puberty as a moment when 'all the powers of nature seem at work in strengthening the mind, and completing the body.' He added that it was also at this time of life that 'the youth acquires courage, and the virgin modesty.'[594] In the case of young girls, the appearance of the breasts was seen as an important sign of the commencement of their passage into womanhood. Whilst Goldsmith observed that the 'symptoms' of puberty 'are seldom alike in different

[588] J. Locke, 'Of Ideas in General', *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (London, 1690).
[589] L. Sorge-English, *Stays and Body Image in London: The Staymaking Trade, 1680-1810* (London, 2011), pp. 116-7.
[590] Laqueur, *Making Sex*, p. 7.
[591] R. Owen (ed.), J. Hunter, *Essays and Observations on Natural History, Anatomy, Physiology, Psychology, and Geology* (London, 1861), p. 64.
[592] H. Manning, *A Treatise on Female Diseases* (London, 1771), pp. 1-2.
[593] Hunter, 'Account of an Extraordinary Pheasant', p. 68.
[594] Goldmsith, *An History of the Earth*, vol. 2, p. 71.

persons', he added that 'it is usually known by a swelling of breasts in one sex, and a roughness of voice in the other.'[595]

In medical texts the growth of the breasts was presented as a development that was synonymous with the onset of the menses. Lynch wrote that during youth: 'In Females the Breasts grow visibly harder and larger, the Blood is in Motion thro' the whole Body, and this pushes on all Sides till it finds Passage'.[596] This idea of the appearance of the breasts being indicative of a young girl's transition from the chaste virgin state into sexual maturity is also evident in many erotic texts. One such work asserted that the 'first budding orbs on the breasts of young girls' was 'nature's criteria' for showing that they were ready for 'the principal end they were sent forth into this world.'[597] Goldsmith held similar views and noted that this was the time when women first became beautiful. He noted: 'At this season also, the women seem to acquire new beauty, while the men lose all that delicate effeminacy of countenance which they had when boys.'[598]

Evidence from popular medical advice books and conduct texts suggest that the transition into womanhood was conceptualised as a transformation that occurred gradually. Measured changes in the size and shape of the breasts were thought to be suggestive of particular stages of this passage into womanhood. Weaver stated: 'In Virgins of eleven or twelve there is scarce any Thing appears, except the Nipples; but they increase as they advance in Years'.[599] While some commentators were content with simply noting that the breasts swelled with age during adolescence, others sought to precisely detail the different phases of this change. Andry stated that while very young girls had no breasts at all, 'only the nipples', that the size of breasts increased as girls grew older and were 'about the age of fourteen…formed'. He added: 'They grow larger till the eighteenth Year or there-abouts, and continue firm till thirty.'[600] The gradual development of the breasts from the ages of 11 to 18 was consequently perceived as a transformation that correlated with a girl's progression into womanhood.

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[595] Ibid, p. 68.
[596] Lynch, *Guide to Health*, p. 3.
[597] Anon., *The Fruit Shop. A Tale* (London, 1765), pp. 149-50.
[598] Goldsmith, *An History of the Earth*, vol. 2, p. 71.
[599] Weaver, *Anatomical and Mechanical Lectures,* pp. 85-6.
[600] Andry, *Orthopædia*, vol. 1, p. 51.

The conceptualisation of the growth of the female breast as a visible sign of a girl's metamorphosis into a 'woman' is also implied by the language used to describe this progression. Terms such as 'blossoming', 'budding' and 'blooming' were commonly employed as metaphors to refer to the beauty of the youthful female form. These botanical metaphors seem to have been almost erotic references to the growth of the female breast. In her study of erotica, Harvey demonstrates how botanical metaphors were commonly employed within this genre to refer to the breasts.[601] In the erotic text *The Man-Plant,* the breasts were introduced as if they were a plant in need of classification. The breasts were defined in Latin as:

> NECTATARIUM {Mammae} duplex, rotundo-globosum, tenerum, niveum, Tactu suavissimum, aliquando Fuscum, nauseosum, mole, colore flacciditate horridum; cylindrulo papilliformi lacteo areola pluchure rubesecente cincto, in medio sui gaudens, ad bafin utriusque, petali superioris positum.[602]

This sort of figurative botanical representation of the breasts is evident in descriptions of young women's breasts contained within beauty manuals. The narrator of *Abdeker* wrote that the women from Persia and the surrounding areas 'have their Breasts even in their Old Age as firm as *Europeans* have them in the Bloom of Youth.'[603] Later in the century, the anonymous author of *Letters to the Ladies* similarly wrote: 'the breasts swell with the tide of youth, when all the blossoms of beauty are expanding.'[604] In this light, the botanical terminology used to describe young women's passage into adulthood appears to have obliquely referred to the swelling of the breasts at this stage of life.

As a result of the cultural significance of growing breasts as a sign of emerging femininity, contemporaries were explicit in their assertions that the breasts should be left un-constricted during their growth. Of particular concern to commentators, especially in the first half of the century when it was fairly common, was the practice of swaddling. This was because as a result of the perceived malleability of children's bodies, swaddling, which constricted the movement of the child, was thought to be

[601] Harvey, *Reading Sex*, p. 95.
[602] V. Miller, *The Man-Plant: Or, a Scheme for Increasing and Improving the British Breed* (London, 1751), p12.
[603] Le Camus, *Abdeker*, p. 35.
[604] *Letters to the Ladies*, p. 67.

potentially detrimental to the proper growth of the breasts. Towle warned parents against swaddling their children as he said it would result in causing the chest to become narrow and the breasts hollow.[605] Weaver also noted that swaddling drew in the sternum and confined the breast. He identified this as a great deformity as he stated that 'for the gracefulness of figure' the chest or breast should appear full.[606] This evidence suggests that commentators generally considered the practice of swaddling as being potentially injurious to the proper formation of the breasts.

When swaddling went out of fashion in the 1750s and 1760s, concerns about the effects of artificially constraining the growing breasts were increasingly targeted against constrictive forms of female dress such as stays. Stays, worn by women throughout the life cycle, were boned garments that encased the breasts and waist, and flattened the rib cage. They were worn by women of all social classes throughout the century. *Letters to the Ladies* observed: 'Of all the modern inventions in point of dress, that of the stays is the most injurious.' The writer stated that he had seen many a 'fine young girl' who wore such garments incur 'a spitting of blood and corruption of the lungs from the constriction of that unnatural ligature'.[607] It was also proposed that contemporary fashions for constrictive clothing were hazardous as dressing in this way was a practice carried out 'with the greatest ardour and temerity' at 'the age when the sex is just attaining its fullest stature.'[608] The language used in these instances implies that the artificial constriction of the breast was thought to be unsafe during puberty as it was feared that it would hinder the proper development of the bust.

This evidence gives the impression that practices which constrained the growth of the chest were condemned as it was feared that they would prevent the female form appearing externally 'womanly'. Indeed, the softness and roundness of the female breast was identified as an important external marker that differentiated the female breast from that of the male. The way in which male and female breasts were anatomically defined in this period offers some insights as to why this sort of differentiation was so crucial in the minds of contemporaries. Especially in the first half of the century, male and female breasts were thought to be almost identical in their

[605] Towle, *The Young Gentleman's and Lady's Private Tutor*, p. 190.
[606] *Letters to the Ladies*, p. 66.
[607] Ibid.
[608] Ibid, p. 67.

fundamental anatomical structure. Weaver stated: 'On the Fore-part of the *Chest* are plac'd the *Breasts*, which are two round *Glandular Tumours*; they are much larger in Women than in men'.[609] Andry defined the breasts in a similar manner and stated: 'In the middle and fore-part of each side of the Chest, there rise two fleshy Eminences, called the Breasts, which are a good deal larger in Women than in Men.'[610]

In the first half of the century male and female breasts were not only thought to be relatively similar in external anatomical appearance, but were also thought capable of preforming the same physiological functions in certain circumstances. Andry proposed that although male breasts comprised of only skin, flesh and fat, in contrast to female breasts which were interspersed with vessels that enabled the secretion of milk, that from male breasts 'sometimes there comes out…a Liquor something like it'. He further affirmed that he had read histories which reported instances where 'some Men have suckled Children like Nurses'.[611] Such convictions were also widely supported by professional medical men. In one of his books the esteemed surgeon John Hunter provided an account of a father who, in order to soothe the cries of his child, had 'applied his left nipple to the infant's mouth, who drew milk from it in such a quantity as to be nursed in perfectly good health.'[612] Consequently, as both men and women were identified as possessing 'breasts' that were believed capable of performing the same physiological functions, the greater size of the female breast was commonly regarded as its defining external characteristic.

Age, Sex and the Appearance of the Breast

From the late seventeenth century, male and female midwifery authors began to detail how the size, shape, colour and appearance of the breast varied in accordance with women's sexual activities and procreative functions. This information was based on new forms of 'scientific' medical inquiry that investigated the anatomy of the female breast and its specific corporeal operations. Firstly, sexual intercourse was identified to bring about a significant change in the appearance of the breasts and nipples. Virgins were recognised to possess nipples that were pale in colour and small

[609] Weaver, *Anatomical and Mechanical Lectures,* p. 6.
[610] Andry, *Orthopædia*, vol. 1, p. 50
[611] Ibid.
[612] Hunter, *Essays and Observations on Natural History,* pp. 238-9.

in size. It was observed by Andry that the areola appeared 'pale in young girls'.[613] However, the loss of virginity was thought to bring about an alteration in their appearance and fetch out their 'natural' pinkish-red hue. Culpeper noted that in those who had 'known Venery' the nipples appeared 'natural, and as red as a Strawberry'.[614] The midwifery author Jane Sharp also wrote: 'The Nipples are red after Copulation, red (I say) as Strawberry, and that is their Natural colour.[615] While it is probable that Sharp, writing after Culpeper, borrowed her definition of the breasts directly from him, it is interesting that both defined the change in the colour of the woman's nipples following sexual intercourse as 'natural'. This is because it suggests that it was believed that the nipples only acquired their proper characteristics after a woman had engaged in sexual intercourse. By extension, this implies that the sexual act itself was imagined, as it were, as a 'third stage' of sexual differentiation which brought with it perceptible changes in the female body.

Still further changes were observed to occur in the appearance of the breasts if a woman became pregnant or was nursing a child. Mrs Sharp declared: 'NATURE, within some convenient time after the Child is conceived in the *Womb*, begins to provide Nourishment for it so soon as it shall be born.'[616] In this mode, the presence of milk was recognised to swell the breast. Andry also noted that when women were with child the breasts often appeared 'large and protuberant'.[617] Changes were also said to occur to the nipples during pregnancy. It was observed by the man-midwife Brudenell Exton that the appearance of the nipples also changed, becoming 'large and dark coloured, with livid Circles round them.'[618]

While pregnancy was thought to bring about some changes to the appearance of the breasts, these transformations were believed to become permanent if a woman nursed her child. Many commentators remarked that breast feeding resulted in the nipples being altered from their 'natural' red colour and becoming blue or brown. Mrs Sharp remarked that the nipples appeared blue in those who 'give suck', while Andry

[613] Andry, *Orthopædia,* vol. 1*,* p. 51.
[614] Culpeper, *A Directory for Midwives; or, A Guide for Women*, p. 333.
[615] J. Sharp, *The Compleat Mid-Wife's Companion; Or, The Art of Midwifry Improv'd,* 4th edition (London, 1725), p. 217. This text was first published in 1671.
[616] Ibid, p. 202.
[617] Andry, *Orthopædia*, vol. 1, p. 90.
[618] B. Exton, *A New and General System of Midwifery* (London, 1751), p. 18.

asserted that the areola was 'brownish in Women with Child and Nurses'.[619] Intriguingly, unlike the transformation that occurred to the appearance of the nipples after sexual intercourse, the form and colour of the nursing nipples was not presented as being 'natural'. Instead, the blue-brown colour of the nursing nipple was rendered an abnormality, perhaps indicating why the employment of wet-nurses was so prevalent in this period.

What is more, authors detailed how the ageing process produced several observable transformations in the appearance of the breast. This was because the way the breasts looked was widely believed to indicate information about the age or stage of life of the woman who displayed them. Broadly speaking, young women were understood to display breasts that were firm and spherical in shape. Yet, around middle age, particularly between the ages of 45 and 50, the breasts were thought to become 'withered' and lose their elasticity. By old age, Andry asserted, 'there remains nothing of them but the Teguments'.[620] The colour of the nipples and the areola were also thought to change with age. Culpeper, Sharp and Andry were certainly in agreement that old age tended to cause the areola to become 'black' and the nipples to take on a 'leaded colour.' Old age was thus known to produce a series of visible changes in the appearance of the breast.

The identification of old age as a time when the appearance of the breast was transformed was linked to the recognition of this stage of life as a period when women's reproductive capabilities declined. This was because the conclusion of the menses was thought to result in a series of evident changes in the appearance of the female body. One specialist on the diseases of women noted: 'That period of life at which the menses cease to flow, is…very critical to the sex.' It was further attested: 'The stoppage of any customary evacuation, however small, is sufficient to disorder the whole frame, and often to destroy life itself'.[621] Hunter also drew clear links between declining fertility and the loss of the clearly visible attributes of the female body. In his work he somewhat cruelly stated:

[619] Sharp, *The Compleat Mid-Wife*, p. 217; Andry, *Orthopædia*, vol. 1, p. 51.
[620] Ibid.
[621] Buchan, *Domestic Medicine*, p. 577.

> The female, at a much later time of life, when the powers of propagation cease, loses many of her peculiar properties, and may be said, except from mere structure of parts, to be of no sex, even receding from the original character of the animal, and approaching, in appearance, towards the male, or perhaps more properly towards the hermaphrodite.[622]

In this way, the deflation, 'leadening' and 'blackening' of the breasts in old age seems to have been perceived as a direct result of the deterioration of fertility. Thus, much in the same way as the onset of the menses was thought synonymous with the growth of the breasts, the conclusion of menstruation in old age was directly associated with the deflation and 'blackening' of the breasts.

What is also interesting is the way the non-menstruating, 'breastless' female was labelled a 'hermaphrodite' in medical texts. This suggests that a woman without the ability to procreate or the visible evidence of this capability was not properly considered a woman and was instead thought to be 'sexless'. Consequently, analysis of the shifting meanings attached to the appearance of the female breast throughout the ageing process suggests that ageing was gendered in the eighteenth century. It also indicates that the changing sorts of corporeal appearance thought to characterise the look of a women's breasts at different stages of her life mirrored shifts in the forms of identity that were associated with women's social and reproductive roles at particular ages.

'Beautiful' Breasts

From the end of the seventeenth century and through to the mid-eighteenth century, the size, shape, colour and appearance of the breasts were subject to sustained discussion in beauty manuals. This was because the appearance of the breasts was seen as an important feature of female beauty. Illustrating this, in many late seventeenth-century beauty manuals, such as *Arts Master-Piece* and Jeamson's *Artificall Embellishments,* explicit advice was included for readers on how to improve their complexion and appearance.

The beautiful qualities of the breast continued to be referenced in various popular works throughout the eighteenth century. Cook asserted that the 'Breasts are

[622] Hunter, *Essays and Observations on Natural History,* p. 49.

situated higher in Woman than any other Creature for Beauty.'[623] In 1740 the commentator Jacob Giles similarly remarked that one of the chief ornaments with which a 'Beautiful Young Woman charms the Senses, rouses the Passions', was the possession of 'agreeable Breasts' and a 'nice Shape.'[624] Similar assertions were made in *The Art of Beauty.* In this text the breasts were described as:

> two ivory globes, or little worlds of beauty, wherein love may found his empire, and commanding an awful homage from his vassals, captivate the wondering gazer's eyes, and dart warm desires into his soul, to make him melt and languish before the soft temptation.[625]

Goldsmith was also clear that: 'The bosom in females, seems to unite all our ideas of beauty, where in the outline is continually changing, and the gradations are soft and regular.'[626] Breasts were thus seen as an important feature of external corporeal beauty for women throughout the eighteenth century.

Discussions of 'beautiful' breasts, like other more general dialogues on beauty, focused on aspects of their size and colour. Breasts of small to medium size, and spherical, symmetrical and firm in shape, were considered the most aesthetically pleasing. In her work Mrs Sharp advised: 'Breasts should be of a Moderate size, neither too great nor too small; not too soft nor too hard'.[627] Around the mid-century, Spence made similar assertions, citing the seventeenth-century French historian Felbien's description of 'perfect' breasts. It was stated that breasts should be: 'equal in Roundness, Whiteness, and Firmness; neither too much elevated, nor too depressed; rising gently, and very distinctly separated; in one Word, just like those of the *Venus of Medici*'.[628] Andry was much of the same view and stated, in somewhat plainer language: 'In Women the handsomest Breasts are round, and of the form of a Hemisphere.'[629] This evidence shows that breasts of a smallish, plump, rounded shape were considered the most beautiful and desirable. This understanding appears to have mirrored the belief that women were 'naturally' softer in their complexion than men.

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[623] Cook, *The Anatomy of Human Bodies*, vol. 1, p. 349.
[624] Giles, *Essays Relating to the Conduct of Life*, p. 40.
[625] *The Art of Beauty*, p. 79.
[626] Goldsmith, *An History of the Earth*, vol. 2, p. 103.
[627] Sharp, *The Compleat Mid-Wife's Companion*, p. 203.
[628] Spence, 'Crito', p. 18.
[629] Andry, *Orthopædia*, vol. 1, p. 51.

Breasts that were too large were considered to be unattractive. The author of *Abdeker* openly mocked breasts that were over-sized and derogatorily stated: 'WOMEN that are too fat have their Breasts too soft and bulky, hanging down like Bags'.[630] The author then went on to ridicule a woman who was said to have had breasts that had grown 'to such a Size, that they were obliged to make use of Strings to keep them up, and Bandages to contract their Bulk.'[631] *The Ladies Dictionary* similarly noted that 'Breasts that hang loose, and are of an extraordinary Largeness, lose their Charms, and have their Beauty buried in a grave of Uncomliness' (for further discussion on weight and body size see chapter 1).[632]

While this comment was often of an aesthetic nature, some midwifery authors attested that an over-enlarged bust suggested some other sort of abnormality in the body. Culpeper, one such writer, wrote that breasts of a large size were produced by 'too much Blood' being predominant in this region, which triggered swelling.[633] This was a physiological problem, he added, as cancers that occurred in the breast were caused by this sort of coagulation of the humours. Women who had breasts that were too large were thus regularly advised to constrict their growth with constrictive bindings and to observe a temperate diet to reduce this sort of coagulation of blood. Sorge-English argues that these discussions evidence that stays were not principally worn by women because of concerns about fashion or respectability. Instead, she proposes that they show that the wearing of stays was chiefly motivated by health concerns and anxieties about what would happen to the female body, a body that was often thought to be 'defective' and 'flawed' in its 'natural' state, if no 'corrective' measures were taken.[634]

Small breasts were also objects of frequent aesthetic and medical censure throughout the eighteenth century. This was because women were expected to have soft bodies because of their cold and wet humoural complexion. In *Abdeker* it was stated that in thin women: 'the Breast exhibits a dismal Representation of a Vault, wherein one may count all the Arches; and the spindle Shanks seem hardly able to

[630] Le Camus, *Abdeke*r, p. 35.
[631] Ibid.
[632] N. H. *The Ladies Dictionary* (London, 1694), p. 63.
[633] Culpeper, *A Directory for Midwives*, p. 316.
[634] Sorge-English, *Stays and Body Image in London,* p. 139.

sustain the Bones of this walking Skeleton'.[635] Again, as in the case of large breasts, small breasts were thought to be caused by a physiological problem in the body. Small breasts were considered a deformity produced by the flux of blood to this body part being obstructed. Culpeper asserted:

> The Breasts are too little, when the flux of Blood to the Breasts is hindered, diminished, intercepted, revelled, or turned another way; or when the Blood is not drawn by the Breasts, as in a dry Liver-famine, much Labour, or in Watchings, Fevers, and other diseases that consume the Body.[636]

In addition, discussion of the external characteristics of beautiful breasts often concerned their colour. Repeatedly breasts of a white, 'snowy', or 'alabaster' complexion were described as the most beautiful. Spence stated: 'The *Bosom* should be white, and charming'.[637] *The Guardian* also identified the whiteness of the female neck and bust as one of the female body's primary beauties. While trying to avoid coming across like a lecherous old man, Nestor Ironside noted that there was a great deal of beauty in the neck and breasts. He claimed that he enjoyed looked upon them as 'Busts of Alabaster', and objectively observing the 'yielding Marble of a Snowy Breast'.[638] Another issue of the paper, which featured a letter from a young female correspondent supposedly called 'Olivia', also reveals the importance of the colour of the breast as a means of displaying beauty. In the letter Olivia complained about contemporary fashions which left large portions of the breast exposed. The chief article of her complaint was that olive skin, such as she possessed, made for a 'very indifferent Neck'.[639] She thus protested that 'Fair Women' must have 'thought of this Fashion to insult the Olives and Brunettes', because: 'They know very well that Neck of Ivory does not make so fine a Show as one of Alabaster.'[640] Together these discourses

[635] Le Camus, *Abdeker*, p. 38.
[636] Culpeper, *A Directory for Midwives*, p. 317.
[637] Spence, 'Crito', p. 12.
[638] *The Guardian*, No. 100 (6th July 1713).
[639] In this period 'neck' was a term often used to refer to the breast. In B. Mandeville, *The Virgin Unmask'd,* the young Antonia told her aunt: 'I never knew, that one's Neck was an obscene part'. Her aunt Lucinda replied: 'what you call your Neck is; here your Neck ends at the Collar-bone, this is your Chest, your Bosom, this is the Pit of your Stomach, these are your breasts; you make a strange long neck of it; and are like the sign-painters, who only call it a Head, tho' they Paint a Man or a Woman as far as the Waist; you may as well call it your Chin as your Neck', p. 4.
[640] Ibid, No. 109 (16th July 1713).

indicate that the correct display of the bust was recognised as an important feature of female beauty.

Modest forms of Display

While contemporaries agreed that the display of breasts added many charms to a woman's appearance, how they should be appropriately exhibited was a subject of debate throughout the century. From the late seventeenth century, fashions for low cut stays and gowns which exposed the breasts became increasingly popular. Many men seemed perplexed as to why women chose to dress in such garments. The author of *Letters to the Ladies* asked the fair sex:

> Tell me, ye lovely objects of my affection, what ye mean by this preposterous bondage? Is it to render you insensible of the ardent embraces of your lovers; is it to defend your breasts, as with a coat of mail, from the arrows of Cupid hovering round you? O! surely, such motives can never influence your soft and compassionate hearts. [641]

As Olivia noted in the letter she sent into *The Guardian*, the development of these fashions does, at least in part, seem to have been driven by a desire of women to show off the beauty of their breasts. Towle certainly believed that many women allowed their daughters to expose large portions of their breasts for this reason. He wrote: 'Some Ladies may say, "O Sir, my Daughter must appear agreeable, so fine a Skin as she has got". Ladies, I agree with you, a fine Skin is agreeable, but Decency is much more so, and especially if it adds Beauty to the Wearer'.[642]

Nevertheless, as is indicated by Towle's statement, exposure of the breasts did not go without social censure. This sort of concern is evidenced in a series of articles that featured in *The Guardian* regarding the absence of a piece of female dress called the 'Tucker', a slip of fine Linen or Muslin that was worn in a ruffle around the uppermost verge of a woman's stays. The puritanical narrator, Nestor Ironside, tutted: 'I must take Notice, that our Ladies have of late thrown aside this Fig-Leaf, and

[641] *Letters to the Ladies*, p. 67.
[642] Towle, *The Young Gentleman's and Lady's Private Tutor*, p. 185.

exposed in its Primitive Nakedness that gentle Swelling of the Breast which it was used to conceal'.[643]

The primary reason why the 'throwing off' of the tucker and exposure of the neck was the subject of so much censure was because it was feared that it would arouse potentially dangerous male desires. Ironside, in a recounted instance at his friend Lady Lizard's house, noted how he himself had almost found his politeness jeopardized by the sight of a pair of beautiful bosoms. He remembered:

> I was sitting the other Day by a famous She-Visitant at my Lady Lizard's, when accidently I was looking upon her Face letting my Sight fall into her Bosom, I was surprized with Beauties which I never before discovered, and do not know where my Eye wou'd have run, if I had not immediately checked it.[644]

The breast was thus presented as an erotic entity that could stimulate potentially dangerous male passions, even from the most demure men.

Although in the above mentioned instance it was Ironside's roving eye that was the principal instigator of this potentially socially embarrassing social incident, the blame was firmly levelled against the lady wearing the 'revealing' garment. Ironside stated: 'The Lady herself could not forebear blushing when she observed my Looks, that she had made her Neck too beautiful and glaring an Object, even for a Man of my Character and Gravity'. While Ironside acquitted himself of any indiscretion by blaming the lady concerned and noting that he, after seeing this lady's breasts, went so far as to use his 'Hand to cover so unseemly a Sight', he went on to add that it was unlikely that young men with ill-disciplined eyes would show such discretion. He remarked:

> The Eyes of young Men are curious and penetrating, their Imaginations of a roving Nature, and their Passions under to Discipline or Restraint. I am in Pain for a Woman of Rank when I see her thus exposing her self to the Regards of every imprudent staring Fellow. How can she expect that her Quality can defend her when she gives such provocation.[645]

[643] *The Guardian*, No. 100 (6th July 1713).
[644] Ibid.
[645] Ibid.

In this mode, the attraction of inappropriate male glances towards the breasts was not considered a result of men's impoliteness, but rather that of the women who revealed their breasts in this immodest fashion.

The exhibition of the breasts could lead to women being regarded as immodest in the first half of the century. In *The Virgin Unmask'd,* Lucinda told her young niece:

> Here, Niece, take my Handkerchief, prithee now, if you can find nothing else to cover your Nakedness; If you knew what a Fulsome Sight it was, I am sure you would not go so bear: I cann't abide your Naked Breasts heaving up and down; it makes me Sick to see it.

Despite her aunt's complaints the young niece Antonia tried to explain her choice of dress by telling her aunt that she was wearing a low-cut dress because of the hot weather. However, Antonia's aunt was not convinced by this explanation and informed her niece: 'Harkee, *Antonia*, those little Pretences won't pass upon your Aunt; tin't the Heat of the Weather, 'tis the Heat of your Blood, your Wantonness, and Lascivious Thoughts.'[646] Revealing one's breasts could thus lead to one being considered immodest in elite society in the first half of the century.

While exposing the breast was generally perceived as a sign of immodesty, young single women were partly exonerated from this censure as male contemporaries recognised it as a means by which they attracted suitors. Yet, men seemed to have been confused and outraged when they observed married women exposing their bosoms. Ironside certainly noted his shock upon finding that the ladies leading the fashion for dresses without tuckers 'were most of them married Women.' He was surprised at discovering this, he stated, for as these women had already 'snared' themselves a man, there was no need for them to display the sexual allurements of their bodies. It was stated: 'No Body exposes Wares that are appropriated. When the Bird is taken the Snare ought to be removed.' The male view of what sorts of corporeal display were appropriate for married women was exemplified in the final section of the article, which applauded the practice in ancient

[646] B. Mandeville, *The Virgin Unmask'd,* pp. 1-2.

Sparta where married maids were forced to wear 'Garments…closed up, and sticked together with the greatest care imaginable'.[647]

Many commentators in the first half of the century thus urged women to cover up their bust in order to ensure their modesty. It was stated in *The Guardian* that women should sew their Tuckers on again to prevent 'sawcy' glances and 'to retrieve the Modesty of their Characters.'[648] Towle likewise recommended 'gather'd Tuckers as a decent and absolutely necessary Part of Dress.'[649] Accordingly, while it was men's lusting passions for beautiful breasts, along with their roving looks, that was identified as being the source of potentially dangerous and subversive sexual behaviour, the responsibility for preventing this sort of attention was presented as a female concern. In this fashion, how much breast a woman displayed in regard to her dress was read as a sign of how much modesty and politeness she possessed.

In spite of all this negative censure, fashions for low-cut gowns were popular among young fashionable aristocratic women throughout the period. Middle class women, in contrast, would have dressed in more sober clothing styles. Aristocratic women dressed in this way as they recognised that exposing their breasts excited male attention. It was also because dresses which exposed the breasts were considered fashionable. Many women were aggressive in their responses to male commentators who sought to dictate what sorts of garments they wore. At the beginning of the century, Nestor Ironside wrote that he had received many letters from young women in response to campaigns to re-instate the tucker. He recounted that several had 'told me to mind my own Affairs, and not pretend to meddle with their Linen' and that 'they do not dress for an old Fellow, who cannot see them without a pair of Spectacles.'[650] It thus appears that these forms of dress were adopted by aristocratic women as it enabled them to attract male attention and show off their knowledge of fashion to other women. Accordingly, while the beauty, eroticism, exposure and display of the breast were subjects that were primarily written about by men, the way that breasts were actually displayed depended on how individual women interpreted these associations and manipulated them for their own distinctive purposes.

[647] *The Guardian*, No. 100 (6th July 1713).
[648] Ibid.
[649] Towle, *The Young Gentleman's and Lady's Private Tutor*, p. 185.
[650] *The Guardian*, No. 100 (6th July 1713).

Nursing Breasts

When commentators in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries spoke of the 'nursing breast', it was normally to the breast of an actual nurse that they referred. This was because at this time almost all women who could afford to would have employed a wet-nurse to feed their infants. Perry notes: 'Mothers from a wide spectrum of classes – the wives of merchants, farmers, lawyers, physicians, and clergymen, as well as aristocrats and gentry – regularly hired wet-nurses to breast-feed their new-borns.'[651] Consequently, many midwifery texts from the first half of the century provided precise advice for readers on how to select an employee with suitable credentials, and breasts, for this task.

Firstly, midwifery authors provided precise rules about what sort of temperament a wet-nurse should have. Generally it was advised that nurses should be of a sanguine disposition. This was because those of a sanguine temperament were meant to be of a sociable and compassionate character. Culpeper noted:

> I advise every good Woman to choose a Nurse that is a sanguine Woman, and my reasons are, Because all Children in their minority have their complexion predominant; and if you can get such a Woman, you need not fear she is squint-ey'd or lame, or crump-shoulder'd, nor yellow hair'd, or an ill favoured nose, nor a bad smell, nor misshapen Body, nor black teeth, and you may remember the old Proverb, '*Cavendum ab eis quos Deus notavit*', Have a care of those that God hath marked.

So trusting was Culpeper in the fine qualities of a sanguine woman that he asserted: 'You need not question such a Woman's Milk to be bad, nor her Nipples neither, and in that your eye will direct you.' In spite of this, Culpeper acknowledged that ordinary people often had great difficulty in recognising others' temperaments from their external appearance. Correspondingly, he provided clear directions about what the ideal nurse should look like. He noted that 'by her person' the nurse should be 'of middle stature, fleshy, but not fat', that she should be of 'a ruddy colour' and have 'very clear skin, that you may see her veins through it.'[652]

Other authors were not as sure as Culpeper that the possession of a sanguine constitution alone could be used to identify an appropriate nurse and provided more

[651] Perry, 'Colonizing the Breast', p. 219.
[652] Culpeper, *A Directory for Midwives*, p. 132.

detailed instruction on what the breasts of an employable nurse should look like. In the late seventeenth century authors noted that nurses who had breasts of a medium size were the most desirable. This was because they were believed to be the best shaped breasts for 'giving suck'. Mrs Sharp, for one, noted that women who had breasts that were too big did not produce good milk. She stated that milk that was expressed by 'over-big' breasts was 'not so good, because there wants a moderate heat.'[653] Such comments were made much more aggressively in early eighteenth-century midwifery texts, where descriptions of the proper appearance of the nurse's breasts became increasingly precise. It was stated in *The Art of Nursing* that the 'Make and Habit of Body requir'd in a *Good Nurse*' depended greatly on the shape of her breasts.[654] The author noted:

> 'tis necessary that she should have a large and square Breast, and not be too fat; for the Vessels of such Persons as are loaded with Fat are straiter, and contain less Blood than those of other People: Besides the fat carried away the best Part of the Blood, and consequently hinders the Breasts from being well-stor'd with Milk.[655]

Women who were too fat were therefore considered to make inferior nurses as they were not thought to be able to produce nourishing milk (see chapter 1).

In terms of the shape and texture of the breast, writers advised that they 'ought not to be hanging and flabby, but of a just Size and Proportion, attended with a sufficient Degree of Firmness.'[656] Maubray agreed that the nurse should have 'middle-sized, well shaped, not flabby nor hanging down, but solid fleshy BREASTS, with elegant, firm, and well perforated *Nipples*.'[657] Breasts of a rounded shape and firm texture were considered the most desirable as they were identified as being those which held the most milk. It was also stated that breasts of this shape and texture were most favourable because breasts that were too firm or large could potentially prevent the child from suckling properly or deform their face through the repetitive action of suckling. The *Art of Nursing* noted: 'If the Breasts are hard, the Pain they give

[653] Sharp, *The Compleat Mid-Wife's Companion*, p. 203.
[654] *The Art of Nursing*, p. 30.
[655] Ibid.
[656] Ibid.
[657] Maubray, *The Female Physician,* p. 332.

the Child when he sucks, by squeezing his Nose, will be apt to make him leave off; but nothwithstanding…he will become flat Nos'd.'[658]

The reason why the proper appearance of the nurses' body and breasts was described in such detail by midwifery authors in the first half of the century was because it was generally believed that character and physiological traits, diseases and external attributes could be transferred through the breast milk from nurse to child (see chapter 4). This situation appears to have been a source of anxiety for parents. One early critic of the practice of wet-nursing protested that women should breastfeed their own children as, via the milk, the nurse would pass on her own characteristics and physical attributes. It was stated:

> The Power of a Nurse over a Child, by infusing into it, with her Milk, her Qualities and Disposition, is sufficiently and daily observed: Hence came that old Saying concerning an ill-natured and malicious Fellow, that he had imbibed his Malice with his Nurse's Milk.[659]

The correspondent added:

> Many Instances may be produced from good Authorities and daily Experience, that Children actually suck in the several Passions and depraved Inclinations of their Nurses, as Anger, Malice, Fear, Melancholy, Sadness, Desire, and Aversion.[660]

The Art of Nursing, while not condemning the practice of wet-nursing, also observed: ''Tis a Truth so universally allow'd, that the Nurses communicate their own natural Dispositions to Children nurs'd by them.'[661]

Likewise, commentators thought that physical, not just moral, temperamental, or constitutional, characteristics could be transferred from the nurse to the child. Bracken was almost fanatical in his warnings to parents that aspects of the nurse's appearance could be imprinted on the child via the breast milk and the process of feeding.[662] A range of deformities, including squints, crooked arms, bent legs, hunched backs, being left-handed and red hair, were all believed to be transferred from nurse

[658] *The Art of Nursing*, p. 30.
[659] *The Spectator*, No. 246 (12th December 1711).
[660] *The Art of Nursing,* p. 22.
[661] Ibid, p. 21.
[662] Bracken, *The Midwife's Companion*, pp. 273-283.

to child in this manner. In *The Midwife's Companion,* Bracken recounted the case of a neighbour of his whose oldest son had squinted because of a peaked cap he wore as a child. He deduced from this incident that not only was putting children in peaked caps inadvisable, but also that 'no Child should be nursed with, or come often near, a squint-ey'd Person'. This was because, he added, 'this will most infallibly cause such Impediment in himself'.[663]

In the 1750s and 1760s the practice of wet-nursing went out of fashion. This is evidenced by the fact that midwifery authors ceased to provide explicit descriptions of the best breasts for nursing, noting instead that the most important thing was for women to breast-fed their own children. This change was caused by changing expectations relating to women's behaviour as mothers. Although often acknowledging that it was best for women to breast-feed their own children, midwifery authors had previously discharged their readers of any failing in this respect. A weakness of constitution was the excuse most commonly used by women who did not feed their children. One commentator stated: 'Whenever it happens that a Mother is of so weak, or delicate a Constitution, that she is unable to give Suck herself, it behoves her to find a good nurse.'[664] The author of a letter sent in to *The Spectator,* condemning the use of wet-nurses, stated scornfully: 'I am not ignorant but that there are some Cases of Necessity where a Mother cannot give Suck…but there are so very few, that I am sure in a Thousand there is hardly one real Instance.'[665]

Yet, by the middle of the century such views had become outmoded and people increasingly agreed with the view that for a woman not to feed her own child was 'un-natural' as it was part of her duty in the 'Office of a Mother.'[666] Increasingly writers cited a sentimental view of women which presented breast feeding and caring for their children as part of their essential nature. Consequently, passing your child over to a wet-nurse was no longer thought culturally acceptable as the belief that woman who did not feed their child should not to be able to call themselves a 'mother' became increasingly established in popular thought. William Buchan, in his

[663] Ibid, p. 272.
[664] *The Art of Nursing,* p. 28.
[665] *The Spectator,* No. 246 (12th December 1711).
[666] Ibid.

Advice to Mothers exemplified the general opinion of the times in his statement that a woman unable to 'discharge the duties of a mother…has no right to become a wife.'[667]

In order to imbue their treatises with authority, those who promoted the practice of breast feeding increasingly accused women who did not feed their children as being 'un-natural' or deviant. This was certainly an approach taken by William Cadogan in *An Essay upon Nursing* (1748), one of the most influential midwifery texts of the century. Cadogan presented the failure to nurse as a direct product of sexual vanity. He stated: 'only for a want of proper method; were it rightly managed, there would be much pleasure in it, to every woman that prevail upon herself to give up a little of the beauty of the Breast to feed her offspring.'[668] That is, Cadogan urged women to find pleasure in putting their breasts to use in nursing rather than taking it only from their external beauty.

Breast feeding was also presented as a key expression of femininity in popular conduct works in the second half of the century. Hugh Smith, in his *Letters to Married Women* (1767), implored: 'O! THAT I could prevail upon my fair countrywomen to become still more lovely in the sight of men! Believe it not, when it is insinuated, that your bosoms are less charming, for having a dear little cherub at your breast.' He added: 'Trust me, there is no husband could withstand the fond solicitations of an endearing wife, would she earnest in her desire of bringing up her own children.'[669] Likewise, in his *Discourses on Different Subjects*, Polwhele identified breast feeding as a 'natural' female impulse. He also presented failure to breast feed as a sign of female cruelty, negligence, depravity and vanity by arguing that a woman's breast 'belonged' to her child. In a highly sentimental passage he wrote:

> When a little infant is ushered to the light her own instinct (if undepraved) will direct her to consult its preservation, by every salutary care. To suckle it with the milk of her own bosom, will be an obvious and delightful task: nor will she conceive it possible to far to resist the natural impulse of maternal tenderness, as to banish her babe from her breasts which are its own, into the arms of a strange who is totally uninterested in its fate.[670]

[667] W. Buchan, *Advice to Mothers* (London, 1803), pp. 217-8.
[668] Cadogan, *An Essay on Nursing* (London, 1748), p. 14.
[669] H. Smith, *Letters to Married Women* (London, 1767), pp. 75-6.
[670] R. Polwhele, *Discourses on Different Subjects*, vol. 1, 2nd edition (London, 1791), p. 118.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, medical advice authors and social commentators were thus active in supplanting ideas about the erotic beauties of the non-lactating breast with new understandings of the breast as a symbol of the charms of the maternal woman.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that as signifiers of femininity the breasts were inscribed with many complex gender associations in the eighteenth century. Indeed, while the development of the breasts in puberty was seen as the sign of a girl's commencement into womanhood, events that mirrored women's changing position in society, such as the loss of virginity, pregnancy and childbirth, were thought to produce physical changes to the appearance of the breasts and nipples. In this way, the appearance of the breast at various stages in a woman's life was thought to mirror transformations in her social position. Yet, around the mid-eighteenth century the use of the breasts became a more frequent topic of commentators' mediations than their appearance. This was due to the way that popular writers sought to present breast feeding as a 'natural' marker of femininity in order to redefine the female sex and prescribe certain forms of female behaviour. This analysis of the breast has thus demonstrated how particular parts of the body came to be used as discursive sites where ideas about social difference were defined during the eighteenth century. It has also illustrated that by locating social difference in the corporeality of the body, in the second half of the century commentators were able to prescribe aspects of people's behaviour and lived experiences.

6. Hands

Introduction

Located at the end of the arms, consisting of the four fingers, thumb and palm, the hands are the principal parts of the body humans use to manipulate physically their environment. As they contain some of the densest areas of nerve endings on the body, the hands are also intimately associated with the sensation of touch. The hands are thus the chief means by which we have relationships with objects, our environment and other people. The appearance of our hands is considered no less significant. This is because the hands allow us to communicate and express ourselves, and as their shape, colour and texture reveals information about our social identity. Yet, the ways in which we engage with our environment and society through the use of our hands is understood to be culturally derived, reflecting the demands of different societies and different times. Accordingly, the hands represent an important embodied space for social relations and communication and, as such, are accorded a range of different cultural meanings in distinctive contexts.

Despite their social significance, hands are a topic that has attracted little attention from eighteenth-century historians. There are, however, some notable exceptions. Fredrik Albritton Jonsson has recently looked at how the relationship between the hands and the mind was presented by philosophers. He shows how contemporaries, such as Adam Smith, concerned themselves with the psychology and physiology of labouring hands as they conceptualised it as a way of uncovering the relationship between manual work and the actions of the mind.[671] Conversely, the hands and the sensation of touch have been of interest to Sander Gilman who examines the significance of the relationship between touch, sexuality and disease as presented in a range of visual evidence from the Renaissance through to the present.[672] Art historians such as Arline Meyer also demonstrate how the positioning of the hands in eighteenth-century portraiture was used to convey various forms of

[671] F. A. Jonsson, 'Enlightened Hands: Managing Dexterity in British Medicine and Manufactures, 1760-1800' in Crozier & Forth (eds), *Body Parts,* pp. 142-60.
[672] S. Gilman, 'Touch, Sexuality and Disease', in Bynum & Porter (eds), *Medicine and the Five Senses*, pp. 198-224.

information about a person's character.[673] Recent research has therefore been extremely diverse in its approaches to the hand as a subject of empirical analysis.

That said, no systematic examination of the meanings attached to the hands in the eighteenth century has yet been offered by historians. The present chapter will seek to remedy this lacuna in the scholarship by examining the associations attached to hands in elite culture. To start with, it examines the declining legitimacy of palmistry and changing medical definitions of the hand's parts. Then the analysis will turn to the definition of the thumb and different fingers, and what their names suggest about their social uses. The next section explores what qualities the nails and 'beautiful' hands were thought to possess and what the appearance of the hand was believed to indicate about class and social status. Finally, the last two sections explore the different meanings and associations attached to left and right hands, and how the positioning of the hands was used to express 'polite' mien when employed in various forms of embodied display.

Palms and Palmists

Before the eighteenth century palmistry, or chiromancy, was the primary source of information about the hand presented in a range of popular texts. In palmistry the hand was conceptualised as a collection of symbols that revealed information about an individual's constitution and character, as well as their relationship with the world and even their future. In the popular astrological health book the *Erra Pater*, a text sometimes referred to by the title *The Book of Knowledge Shewing of the Achievement of the Ancients,* it was explained that palmistry was the practice of judging the 'condition, inclinations, and the fortunes of men and women' through the signs that 'nature has imprinted in the hand' (fig. 6).[674] To palmists the appearance of the palm was believed to convey the most information about a person and their life. To enable

[673] A. Meyer, 'Re-dressing Classical Statuary: The Eighteenth-Century "Hand-in-Waistcoat" Portrait', *The Art Bulletin*, 77: 1 (1995), pp. 45-63.

[674] E. Pater, *The Book of Knowledge Shewing the Wisdom of the Achievements of the Ancients* (London, 1720), p. 55. There was many different editions of the *Erra Pater*, the first being published in 1535. Slightly altered versions of the text were re-published throughout the eighteenth century and it went through forty-two different editions. Henceforth, it will be this 1720 edition titled *The Book of Knowledge* attributed to the 'author' Erra Pater that will be referenced. See the appendix for further details.

the palm to be 'read' palmists identified several key markings on its surface. One text explained that palmists:

> commonly reckon four lines in the Palm of the Hand, these of which are looked upon by the Palmsters as the principal. The first of these, which is below the Thumb, is by them called the Line of Life, or of the Heart. The second, which crosses the Palm of the Hand, and stretches itself below the little Finger, is the Line of the Liver. The third, which is parallel to the last, running the same Direction, and passing by the Root of the fore Finger, is called Venus's Line, upon account of some things which they falsely imagine they can fortell, by only seeing this line.[675]

The *Erra Pater* proposed that the most important of all these lines was the 'table line'. When of a broad and lively colour, it was asserted that this line signified that the individual had a 'healthful constitution', a quiet and contented mind, and a courageous spirit.[676] In this way, the lines that appeared on the surface of the hand were thought to evidence information about a person's character.

Figure 6. Illustration showing the names of the lines of the hand, from E. Pater, *The Book of Knowledge Shewing the Wisdom of the Achievements of the Ancients* (London, 1720).

Palmists considered the mould and shape of the palm of the hand equally significant. This was because each of the different sections or 'mounts' of the palm

[675] Andry, *Orthopædia*, vol. 1, p. 59.
[676] Pater, *The Book of Knowledge,* pp. 61-5.

was thought to have a relationship with a specific planet which indicated a portfolio of information about a person's character. Andry explained:

> In the Palm of the Hand, at the Roots of the Fingers, is observed a small Boss or Eminence, which makes the fleshy part of the Hand. These small Eminences are called Mountains. The Palmesters name all those little Mountains by the name of Planets. That which is under the Thumb is the Mountain of Mars; the one under the fore Finger is that of Jupiter; the Mount of Saturn is that under the middle Finger; the one under the Ring Finger is the Mountain of the Sun; the Mount of Venus is that under the little Finger; the Mount of Mercury lies between the Thumb and the fore Finger, and is called the Thenar or Mouse; and the Mount of the Moon is that Eminence which is opposite to the Thenar and is called the Hypothenar.[677]

Furthermore, while the Venus mount was considered to convey information about a person's positive energy, the Mount of Mars was believed to tell of an individual's pre-disposition to anger or aggression.[678] Hence, palmistry presented the hand as a symbolic archive of the self in the past, present and future.

Over the course of the seventeenth century palmistry, like physiognomy and other astrological forms of knowledge based on understandings of the world as a microcosm, came to be a practice regarded with deep suspicion (see chapter 3). In its introduction, *The True Fortune-Teller* sought to defend the information it contained by attacking those who doubted the validity of palmistry. It was asserted:

> Although some People are so vain as to have all Arts and Sciences in contempt, yet certain it is that the great Creator of the Glorious Universe, has, so orders it, that he has Ingraven as it were Misterious Characters upon every Creature.[679]

In spite of this, it appears that *The True Fortune-Teller* failed in its attempts to present palmistry as a legitimate practice as by the early eighteenth century it was generally seen as superstitious foolishness. In *The Spectator* the narrator recounted that on a trip to the country with his friend, the country squire Sir Roger de Coverly, they had encountered a group of gypsies who had offered to read their palms. After looking at his hand it was reported that an old female gypsy had told Sir Roger 'that his

[677] Andry, *Orthopædia*, vol. 1, p. 58.
[678] *The True Fortune-Teller,* pp. 2-3.
[679] Ibid, p. 1.

True-love was constant, and that she would dream of him to-night'. In response the narrator recorded that 'My old Friend cried Pish [!]'.[680] Dr Quincy had no more faith in Palmistry than Sir Roger. In his *Medical Dictionary* he wrote that 'Hieroglyphics' was a term which dealers in chiromancy had given to the lines of the hand 'from which they pretend to foretell anything relating to a person's future'. Despite this acknowledgement, Quincy went on to note that these 'Juggles are now despised'.[681] Andry similarly chastised palmistry as 'a very foolish absurd science' which had 'not the least foundation in nature.'[682]

Endeavouring to release themselves from what they perceived as the ignorance, superstition and error of earlier systems of knowledge, in the eighteenth century contemporary thinkers instead adopted new 'enlightened' methods of critical observation, classification and reason to derive a better understanding of human nature and how man operated as a social being. As part of the intellectual project of the Enlightenment, a range of anatomists and physicians focused their energies on defining, discerning and explaining the uses of each of the different physical parts of the hand. This discussion was chiefly concerned with the hand's internal bones and ligaments, rather than aspects of its external appearance. In *The Anatomy of the Humane Bones* (1726), the influential Scottish anatomist and medical lecturer Alexander Monro *Primus* defined the hand as that which 'comprehends all from the first Joint of the Wrist to the Finger Points.'[683] Then Monro went on to describe the bones of the hand, and their means of movement, in respect to their shape, size, structure and spatial location on the body. Describing the metacarpus, or the front part of the palm, he wrote:

> The metacarpus consists of four Bones which sustain the Fingers. Each Bone is long and round, with Extremities larger than the Body. The superior Extremity, which some call the Base, is flat and oblong, without any considerable Head or Cavity; but is however somewhat hollowed, for the Articulation of the Carpus.[684]

[680] *The Spectator,* No. 130 (30th July 1711).
[681] Quincy, *Lexicon Physico-Medicum,* p. 202.
[682] Andry, *Orthopædia*, vol. 1, p. 59.
[683] A. Monro, *The Anatomy of the Humane Bones* (Edinburgh, 1726), p. 278.
[684] Ibid, p. 288.

In his *Medical Dictionary* Quincy went into even greater detail, choosing not to define or discuss the hand as a whole. In opposition, he decided to describe and explain the uses of the various parts of the hand under their medical terms such as 'digitus', 'metacarpus' and 'carpus'.[685]

Conversely, definitions of the hand in early eighteenth-century popular texts were generally presented in simplistic language. Weaver explained: 'The inside is the Palm of the Hand; the outside is called the Back of the Hand'.[686] Then again, by the middle of the century, authors of popular texts provided increasingly technical medical definitions of the hand. In 1746 Andry defined the hand as:

> That part below the Wrist, at the end of which are five Division, is called the Hand; and these Divisions are the Fingers. That space of the Hand which is between the Wrist and Fingers is called the *Metacarpus*…the *Metacarpus* is the convex above, and hollow below. The convex side is called the upper part or back of the Hand, and the concave is called the flat or Palm.[687]

Comparison of the definition of the hands contained in Monro's *Anatomy of the Humane Bones* and William Smellie's *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* evidences a similar situation. Directly copying his definition of the hand from Monro, Smellie proposed that the hand 'consists of four bones, which sustain the fingers', before continuing by plagiarising Monro's definition of the uses of the metacarpus and carpus.[688] Over the course of the century, authors writing for a popular audience thus increasingly turned to medical and anatomical texts as sources of authority on the functions and meanings of the hand.

Thumb and Fingers

In contrast to the way they treated the palm and the hand as a whole, physicians and anatomists showed little interest in re-defining the terminology used to refer to the thumb and fingers. Rather, they continued to use the common cultural terms to denote specific parts of the hand. Anatomists and physicians openly recognised this situation. Several noted that while the names of some fingers stemmed from their

[685] Quincy, *Lexicon Physico-Medicum,* p. 181, p. 272, p. 62.
[686] Weaver, *Anatomical and Mechanical Lectures upon Dancing*, p. 8.
[687] Andry, *Orthopædia*, vol. 1, p. 56.
[688] W. Smellie, *Encylopaedia Britiannica; or, A Dictionary of Arts and Science,* vol. 1 (Edinburgh, 1771), p. 181.

special location on the body, others came from specific aspects of their appearance, or their social uses. Dionis observed:

> On each hand there are five fingers, two of which have obtained their Names from the Magnitude, and the other three have theirs from their Position and Function; the Thumb is so called, because it exceeds the bigness and strength of all the rest; the other Finger, that has borrowed its Name from its Magnitude, is the Little Finger; the next to this is called the Middle Finger; the other is called the Ring Finger.[689]

The first of the fingers, in terms of size, strength and importance, was the thumb. Andry wrote: 'the first is called the Thumb'. He then explained the origins of the word 'thumb'. He attested: 'The Thumb, in *Latin Pollex,* is so called from the *Latin* word *pollere*, which signifies to have Strength, because it is the strongest of all the Fingers.'[690] The idea that the thumb was the strongest and most significant of all the fingers was also presented in many anatomical descriptions of this part of the hand. *Aristotle's Book of Problems* responded to the question '*Why hath every finger three joints, and the thumb but two?*' with the answer: 'The Thumb hath three, but the third is joined unto the arm, therefore is stronger than the other Fingers; and is better in strength, seeing it is also in Quantity; And is called *Pollox a Polleo*, that is, to excel in Strength'.[691] The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* similarly noted that the bones of the thumb 'are much thicker and stronger in proportion to the length, than the bones of the fingers are; which was extremely necessary as the thumb counteracts all the fingers'.[692]

The next, in terms of its imagined importance, was the second finger. The 'fore' or 'index' finger was named primarily after its use as a pointer or indicator. Dionis wrote: 'the second is called the Index, because we make use of it when we would shew, or point at something.'[693] Gibson likewise explained that one of the muscles that allowed to fingers to move was 'called *Indicator*, because it belongeth to the fore-Finger.'[694] The name of this finger, like the thumb, was derived from Latin, in this case stemming from the word 'indicate'. Johnson certainly identified this situation in his

[689] Dionis, *The Anatomy of Humane Bodies,* pp. 8-9
[690] Andry, *Orthopædia*, vol. 1, p. 56.
[691] *Aristotle's Book of Problems,* p. 33.
[692] Smellie, *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* p. 181.
[693] Dionis, *The Anatomy of Humane Bodies,* pp. 79-80.
[694] Gibson, *The Anatomy of Humane Bodies,* p. 543.

Dictionary when he defined the word 'indicate' as 'the hand that points to anything, as to the hour or way.'

The only finger that was named explicitly in reference to its symbolic social function was the ring finger. Dionis wrote: 'the forth is called the annular, or ring-finger because the ring is worn upon this'.[695] One seventeenth-century text explained that wedding rings were worn on the fourth finger of the left hand as from antiquity it had been believed 'that a particular vessel, nerve, vein or artery is conferred thereto from the heart, and therefore that especially hath the honour to bear our Rings.'[696] Andry's explanation of this custom reveals the continuation of this sort of belief in the eighteenth century. He wrote:

> The Ring Finger is so called from a Custom which has prevailed, of wearing a Ring upon this Finger. That Custom took its rise from an old mistake of the *Egyptian* Anatomists, who imaged that in the left Hand there was a small Nerve, which went from this Finger to terminate in the Heart; so that is was very reasonable, according to them, to distinguish this Finger by a Ring, as a sign of that Connection which they pretended it had with the principal Organ of Life, viz. the Heart.[697]

The imagined relationship between the heart and ring finger, as well as its supposed power, was exemplified in other cultural practices which engaged this finger. For example, the ring finger was sometimes called the 'leaches finger' or the 'physician's finger' as it was thought to have a practical healing power if a physician was to lay it on a patient or use it to stir medical preparations.[698] The ring finger was consequently thought to be a particularly powerful finger in accordance with its connection with the emotive organ of the heart.

The remaining two fingers, the middle finger and the little finger, were named specifically after their size and location on the hand. Yet, in the early eighteenth century the little finger was also commonly known as the 'ear finger'. Dionis explained: 'The fifth is the least of all, and called the auricular, or the ear-finger, because being

[695] Dionis, *The Anatomy of Humane Bodies*, p. 80.
[696] T. Browne, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica; or, Enquires into Very Many Received Tenents and Commonly Presumed Truths*, 6th edition (London, 1672), p. 216.
[697] Andry, *Orthopeadia*, vol. 1, p. 56.
[698] B. Walker, *Body Magic: An Encyclopaedia of Esoteric Man* (London, 1977), p. 56.

little and pointed some do commonly use it to cleanse their ears of sordes'.[699] That is, Dionis noted that the little finger was commonly used to remove dirt, debris and ear-wax from the ear. Andry also recorded that this finger was known by this name because people commonly used it to scratch the ear 'when it itches'. The exorcism of this name for the little finger from popular parlance appears to have been connected to the increasing identification of scratching the ear as being 'impolite'. In *The School of Manners*, John Garretson instructed boys that when stood in front of superiors, they should 'scratch not thy Head', but instead keep 'thine Hands behind Thee.'[700] Consequently, while eighteenth-century discussions of the hand as a whole became increasingly scientific, the thumb and fingers continued to be referred to by their popular social terms, which were derived from their cultural uses. This demonstrates how contemporaries conceptualised the fingers as practical appendages that allowed them to engage physically with their external environment.

Nails

In eighteenth-century medical thought, the nails were conceptualised as independent corporeal extensions of the hand which were made up of exercised and hardened humoural matter. The nature of the nail's production, and whether the nails constituted part of the hand, remained a subject of debate throughout this period. *Aristotle's Compleat Masterpiece* explained that nails proceeded 'Of the Fumosity & Humours, which are resolved, & go into the extremities of the Fingers, and there are dried through the Power of the external Air, and brought to the hardness of a Horn.'[701] Turner, on the other hand, reasoned that the nails were a 'hard body' of 'a middle Nature betwixt the bone and cartilage.'[702] Then again, for Cook, the nails were neither of these things. Instead, he proposed that they were a:

> hard, transparent, horney Substance, analogous to Hoofs in Horses and other Animals, and are nothing else but a Number of small Husks, which answer to so

[699] Dionis, *The Anatomy of Humane Bodies*, p. 80.
[700] J. Garretson, 'Rules for Behaviour in Company', *The School of Manners; or, Rules for Children's Behaviour* (London, 1701).
[701] *Aristotle's Book of Problems,* pp. 33-4.
[702] Turner, *Treatise of Diseases Incident to the Skin,* pp. vi-vii.

> many Papillæ of the Skin, and are the very Caps, Covers or Sheaths of those Papillaæ, dried and hardened on the Extremities of the Fingers and Toes.[703]

Accordingly, as a substance made from excreta, the nails were not really considered to be part of the hand. Gibson certainly reasoned that the nails 'are not *truly* parts of the Body.'[704]

That is not to say that commentators denied that the nails had several important corporeal roles. Actually, many authors noted that the nails played an essential role in defending the fingers from harm and pain. Gibson explained that the nails 'are of a horny transparent *Substance*, coming nearest to that of Bones, fasten'd upon the ends of the Fingers and Toes for their defence.'[705] 'The end of each Finger is covered above with a bent piece of Horn, pretty long and large', Andry likewise observed, before adding that it was this 'which serves to defend them against Injuries in that Part.'[706] The naturalist John Ray, in his popular book *The Wisdom of God* (1691), a text which explained that the adaptation of different living creatures was the work of God, discussed the usefulness of the nails as a form of shield for the fingers. He stated:

> They are useful and convenient to give strength and firmness to those Parts in the various functions they are put to; and defend the numerous nerves and tendons that are under them, which have the most exquisite sense of pain, and without that native armour would be continually be exposed to it.[707]

In reference to their substance and location on the hand, the nails were thus conceptualised as armour which served to protect the ends of the fingers from harm.

Although the nails were not thought to be 'truly' part of the body, their appearance was believed to indicate information about the health and complexion of the body. This was because they were seen, much like the skin, as hardened transparent sheaths through which the inner body could be perceived. The colour of the nails was considered especially significant. Gibson stated: 'They are endued with no sense, nor is the colour which they appear to be of upon the Fingers, owing to their

[703] Cook, *Anatomical and Mechanical Essay,* vol. 1, pp. 322-3.
[704] Gibson, *The Anatomy of Humane Bodies,* p. 631.
[705] Ibid.
[706] Andry, *Orthopædia*, vol. 1, pp. 59.
[707] J. Ray, *The Wisdom of God Manifested in the Works; and of the Creation,* 4th edition (London, 1704), p. 416. This text was first published in 1691 and was re-published in new editions in 1692, 1701 and 1704.

proper substance, but to the colour of the parts that lie under them.'[708] The author of *The Art of Preserving Beauty* was in agreement and proposed: 'The colour is owing to the vessels underneath the nail, the body of which is transparent, and exhibits a lively red in a state of health.'[709] Consequently, much like the skin, the nails were seen to operate as translucent membranes through which a person's temperament could be discerned.

In conjunction with this understanding, the colour of the nails was thought to suggest specific forms of information about a person's health and the balance of the humours within the body (see chapter 1). Gibson proposed: 'whence they sometimes look ruddy, sometimes pale, blue or yellow, and thereby give some intimation of the state of the body.'[710] Nails that displayed a mixture of pink, white and red hues were thought to indicate a healthy body. Any other sort of colour exhibited by the nails, in contrast, was believed to suggest sickness. Yellow and blue nails were thought particularly indicative of bodily abnormality as they were believed to suggest an excess of noxious humours under the skin. Affirming this, Gibson attested that 'in a swoon they look pale, because little Blood is then driven into the flesh that lies under them', whereas 'in a Jaundice they look yellow from the Bile that is mixed with the Blood.'[711]

As a site where a person's 'complexion' could be perceived, the colour of the nails was also thought to vary in accordance with an individual's temperament or character. *The Art of Preserving Beauty* was certainly of this opinion. Its author testified:

> it is proverbially said of men of great courage, that they have blood in the nails, the roseate hue of which is generally an indication of a lively courageous temperament; and whenever the blood ceases to flow, the nails become pale, and of an ashen colour.[712]

Consequently, as a perceived boundary where an individual's inner temperament and health could be judged, the colour of the nails was seen as an indication of a person's character.

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[708] Gibson, *The Anatomy of Humane Bodies*, p. 631.
[709] *The Art of Preserving Beauty,* p. 155.
[710] Gibson, *The Anatomy of Human Bodies*, p. 631.
[711] Ibid.
[712] *The Art of Preserving Beauty*, p. 153.

The nails were thought to be a particularly beautiful part of the hand. One text proposed: 'the nails are the principal organs of touch, and makes one of the greatest beautifies of the hand, when opened.'[713] For the main part, the ornamental qualities of the hand were discussed in relation to their colour. Andry asserted:

> At the Root of the Nails is a little white Spot called the *Onyx*, from a precious Stone of that name, of a whitish Colour mixed with black, which the Poets have feigned to be formed by the Fates, of the Pairings of *Venus's* Nails, which *Cupid* cut with the Head of one of his Arrows.[714]

Thus by discussing Venus and Cupid, the Roman gods associated with love and beauty, and previous stones such as onyx, alongside a description of the nails, Andry served to emphasise the significance of the colour of the nails as a symbol of beauty, wealth and status.

In terms of their length, nails of a medium length were considered the most attractive. *The Art of Preserving Beauty* noted:

> When they are allowed to grow too long, the nails are very ugly; but you should take care, in cutting them, not to make them too short. Their edges should never be cut down below the end of the fingers, nor should they be suffered to grow longer than the fingers.[715]

If the nails were longer or shorter than this advised length they were seen as being deformed. They were also thought to indicate that a person was of low social status. Certain professional occupations were affirmed to necessitate short nails. *The Art of Preserving Beauty* noted: 'When nails are cut down to the quick, it looks as if the person were a mechanic, or a fiddler, to whom long nails would be troublesome.'[716] Further demonstrating how short nails were considered a marker of inferior rank, the text remarked how in China long nails were seen as a sign of social status. It was remarked:

> The Chinese pique themselves on their excessive length: and among them, indeed, it is a characteristic of rank and quality; as those who follow any manual employment cannot preserve their nails in the same manner. The ladies usually

[713] Ibid.
[714] Andry, *Orthopædia*, vol. 1, pp. 59-60.
[715] *The Art of Preserving Beauty*, p. 156.
[716] Ibid.

> wear a thin case of gold upon the extremity of their nails, to preserve them from accidental injury.[717]

This evidence suggests that there were strong beliefs about what the most beautiful nails should look like because their colour and length were believed to evidence information about a person's temperament, health, social status and character.

'Beautiful' Hands and Social Difference

One of the main functions of the hand in elite culture was as a visual ornament of beauty. 'FINE Hands', proposed Andry, 'are one of the greatest Ornaments of the Body.'[718] By way of example, he noted: 'The Men of Taste cry up the *Apollo* in the *Belvidera* at *Rome*, and amongst the Perfections which they admire in that imitable Statue, they mention the Hands, as what the most inhances the Merit of the Work.'[719] Explaining what the hands should physically look like, using ancient statuary as a reference point, Spence wrote: 'The Hand should unite insensibly with the Arms; just as it does in the Statue of the Venus de Medici. They should be long, and delicate.' He then added: '*Fingers* should be fine, long, round, and soft; small, and lessening towards the Tips of them.'[720] Andry was in agreement with this proposal and wrote: 'THE Hand, to be well shaped, ought to be delicate, pretty long, and not square.'[721] White, well-proportioned and delicate hands, with long elegant fingers, were therefore considered the most beautiful by the elite.

Conversely, hands that were thick, broad, stubby, hairy and large were considered ugly and deformed. Andry wrote that 'there are some Hands which are justly enough compared to a Shoulder of Mutton, upon account of their Thickness and Breadth'. He added that there were other sorts of 'ugly' hands 'where the Knuckles resemble the great Head of Nails' which were popularly called 'Boxer's Hands.'[722] *The Art of Beauty,* also of this understanding, correspondingly provided readers with

[717] Ibid, p. 155.
[718] Andry, *Orthopædia*, vol. 1, p. 155.
[719] Ibid, pp. 155-6.
[720] Spence, 'Crito', p. 12.
[721] Andry, *Orthopædia*, vol. 1, p. 152.
[722] Ibid, p. 153.

several remedies for hands that were swollen, 'knotty' or 'gouty' in order to return them to a neatness of shape.[723]

These sorts of hands were thought ugly because their strange shapes were believed to be produced by forms of manual labour. In this way, the shape of the hands was considered malleable. Stewart proposed that it was evident that the organs of the body that were most frequently used 'always become the strongest'. By way of example he noted how the arms and hands of watermen 'grow thick, strong and brawny, by time and use.'[724] Stanhope Smith was another commentator who noticed that the hands of the lower and upper classes often appeared different because of the hard physical labour which the lower classes engaged in. Interestingly, Stanhope Smith observed that this was a physical trait that the lower classes passed on from generation to generation. He stated: 'the large hand and arm, formed by constant labour, are discernible in their children.'[725] As the elites were not expected to engage in such activities, if they displayed hands that appeared malformed it called their social status into question. This seems to be the reason why hands of this appearance were considered 'deformed' by many commentators

From the late seventeenth century, the colour of the hands became a common feature of discussions concerning beauty. Andry wrote 'THE Hand ought to be covered with a fine smooth Skin.'[726] Although the hands were supposed to display fine delicate skin, it was considered a deformity for this skin to be too delicate. This is because it was thought ugly for the veins on the back of the hand to be visible. In his beauty manual Jeamson instructed: 'when the milky whiteness of the hands is eclyps'd by the azure veins that swell too big, chaff them well with water wherin all hath been dissolved; then wash them in warm water, presented after anoint them with an urgent made of ceruse.'[727] The chief cause of dark, prominent, visible veins on the back of the hand was thought to be the 'employment of hands in rough work.'[728] Buchan noted:

[723] *The Art of Beauty*, p. 73.
[724] Stewart, *Placosmos*, p. 147.
[725] Stanhope Smith, *Essay on the Causes of the Variety of Complexion*, p. 68.
[726] Andry, *Orthopædia*, vol. 1, p. 154.
[727] Jeamson, *Artificial Embellishments*, p. 166.
[728] Ibid.

> When labourers, milk-maids, & c. come from the field, cold or wet, they run the fire, and often plunge their hands in warm water, by which means the blood and other humours in those parts are suddenly expanded, and, the vessels not yielding so quickly, a strangulation happens, and an inflammation or mortification ensues.[729]

It was also considered essential for the skin which appeared on the back of the hand to be fair or white in colour. In this respect, manual outdoor labour was once again thought the biggest danger to the beauty of the hand. An advert for a hand-cream featured in *The Spectator* stated that this 'one incomparable paste' would fortify the hand 'against the Scorching heat of the Fire or Sun, and the Sharpness of the Sun and Wind.[730]

Hands that were chapped, hard, and rough were likewise considered deformed. In the *Art of Beauty* it was proposed that a remedy was necessary to 'take away unseemly Chaps, Rifts, or hinder the peeling of the Skin on the Hands.' People suffering under this ailment were advised to:

> Take oil of roses two drams; deer's and goat's suet of each two ounces; borax, two drams; soft red wax half an ounce; tutty two drams; pomatum four drams: make these into an ointment over a gentle fire, and anoint the place injured with it, and wash it off the next morning with a little cream, or new milk, warmed; and in doing this two or three nights.[731]

Men of certain trades were thought especially subject to this sort of deformity. Andry, for example, described hands with dry skin as 'Sea-Dog' hands.[732] In his *Treatise on the Diseases of Tradesmen* (1705), the first book ever published on the instance of occupational diseases, the Italian physician Bernadino Ramazzini also observed that deformities of the hand, especially rough skin, were particularly common among potters who worked with lead, surgeons who stirred their ointments with their fingers, and sailors.[733] This was because their employment was seen to cause them to come into contact with substances such as lead, arsenic, lime and salt, which were all thought to corrupt the surface of the skin on the hands. As well as this, Turner

[729] Buchan, *Domestic Medicine,* pp. 50-1.
[730] *The Spectator*, No. 25 (28th March 1711).
[731] *Art of Beauty*, p. 82
[732] Andry, *Orthopædia*, vol. 1, p. 158.
[733] B. Ramazzini, *Treatise on the Diseases of Tradesmen* (London, 1705), p. 24, p. 36, p. 186.

observed that on the 'Palms of the hands of laborious Mechanicks' the 'strata', or skin scales, were 'not only very numerous', but also that 'each scale is thickened.'[734]

In the later part of the century commentators identified roughed and misshaped hands as a characteristic deformity of the lower classes. Andry went so far as to argue that among the working classes such hands were not even considered a deformity. He testified: 'One is not surprized to see Labourers have such Hands, nay, in them it is no Deformity; but it is a considerable one in Persons of a superiour Rank.'[735] Stanhope Smith held similar views. In Smith's opinion, misshapen hands were a hereditary characteristic of the working classes. He proposed that this 'deformity' had been passed on from generation to generation of manual labourers. Smith attested: 'friction excites blisters in the hand of the labourer, and thickens the skin till it becomes able to ensure the continued operation of his instruments.'[736] In this regard, misshapen hands became identified as a 'natural', hereditary characteristic of the working classes over the course of the century.

In his *Theory of An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, the Scottish economist Adam Smith proposed that he too believed that manual labour performed with the hands defined the character of the working classes. Smith even went so far as to reduce the labouring population to 'hands' by referring to them by this term. He wrote that there were two sorts of labourer: 'productive and unproductive'. Smith asserted that: 'The greatest improvement in the productive powers of labour, and the greater part of the skill, dexterity, and judgement with which is anywhere directed, or applied, seem to have been the effects of the division of labour.'[737] Manual dexterity, he thus concluded, marked out the productive, labouring section of the population from the elites. Hence, it appears that while the primary use of the hands for the elite in the eighteenth century was for displaying beauty, for the lower classes, the hands were chiefly understood as 'working' tools. This suggests that the appearance of the hands, in accordance with their class based associations, was believed to convey explicit information about an individual's social status and occupation.

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[734] Turner, *Treatise of Diseases Incident to the Skin*, p. iii.
[735] Andry, *Orthopædia*, vol. 1, p. 157.
[736] Stanhope Smith, *Essay on the Causes*, p. 11.
[737] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, vol. 1 (London, 1776), p. 5.

Rights and Lefts

Since the time of the ancients, the left hand was considered inferior to the right and at times was even thought evil. The derision of the left hand in favour of the right is evidenced in the origins of the terms 'right' and 'left'. The Latin term *sinistra*, the origin for the word 'sinister', originally meant left, but in ancient times acquired a new meaning as it became associated with evil and unluckiness. In contrast, the right hand was long associated with skill. This is illustrated by the fact that the Latin word for 'right' was *dexter*, the origin of the word 'dexterity', and that the word 'right' in the eighteenth century was used to refer to justice and 'something being correct or not wrong'.[738]

The distrust of the left hand continued into the eighteenth century. Throughout this period authors advised that the right hand should be principally used. Tryon observed that 'all Parents, as Fathers, Mothers, Nurses and Tutors, do industriously accustom and teach [their offspring] to use on all occasions one Hand more than the other; that is the Right hand'.[739] A range of other evidence confirms Tryon's assertions. *The Nurse's Guide* instructed readers that infants should be prevented from using their left hand in case they should show a greater propensity for using this hand in later life. It was stated:

> When he is grown a little, that is to say, about the second or third Month, he may be allow'd the Use of his Hands, but so that his Left-Hand may always be less at Liberty than his Right, for fear, lest by using it too often, it should grow stronger, and more easy for his to use than his Right, and so he should become Left-handed.[740]

Andry also explicitly identified the right hand being weaker than the left as a significant deformity. Nurses were Andry's primary targets of censure. This was because he identified left-handedness as a malformation that was caused by children being carried by their nurse too often on one arm. This was a problem, he attested, as it caused the left arm of the child to alone be 'at liberty' which enabled infants to 'employ it on all

[738] 'Right' as defined by Johnson in his *Dictionary.*
[739] Tryon, *The Merchant, Citizen and Countryman's Companion*, p. 93.
[740] *The Nurse's Guide*, p. 50.

occasions.'[741] Andry thus argued that being left-handed was a preventable deformity brought about by parental negligence.

One reason why authors were exercised on this issue was because the British defined themselves as a right-handed nation. *The Museum for Young Gentlemen and Ladies* remarked that among the 'Customs and Ways of the Turks' which were 'very different from ours' was the way 'the Left is the Upper-Hand with them.'[742] Employment of the right hand was also encouraged as use of the left hand was considered 'in-polite'. *The Art of Preserving Beauty* proposed that: 'Parents should take care that their children employ the right hand in preference to the left, in presenting and receiving any thing, because politeness has made it a custom.'[743] Andry also wrote: 'we should accustom Children to present or receive nothing but with the right Hand; good Manners demands this'.[744] The French dancing master Francois Nivelon similarly emphasised the need for young men and women to receive objects only with their right hand. When presenting objects he urged women to 'present the Right Hand, and withdraw it a little, then presenting it again, GIVE or RECEIVE the Thing intended.'[745] The illustrations he provided in his work suggested that he expected the same sort of behaviour from the young men (fig. 7).

Nevertheless, in the early part of the century, some people did condemn the favoured use of the right hand and the derogated position of the left. Tryon, for one, lauded against the cultural favouritism shown to the right hand. He declared that it was unnatural and monstrous for parents to force their children to use their right hand. Tryon avowed that it was a 'selfish Ignorance' of school-masters who were '[t]eaching and Whipping Children, principally to the Use of that which they are pleased to call the Right hand.' This was because he believed that this practice would disable the left hand and cause it to 'dwindle and become weak, but as it were useless.'[746] This was an error, Tryon asserted, because the body was given by God and thus all of its parts should be honoured and venerated, and none of it despised.

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[741] Andry, *Orthopædia*, vol. 1, p. 206.
[742] *A Museum for Young Gentlemen and Ladies*, p. 107.
[743] *The Art of Preserving Beauty*, p. 159.
[744] Andry, *Orthopædia*, vol. 1, p. 209.
[745] F. Nivelon, 'To Give or Receive', *The Rudiments of Genteel Behaviour* (London, 1737).
[746] Tryon, *The Merchant, Citizen and Countryman's Instructor*, p. 95.

Figure 7. 'To Give or Receive', F. Nivelon, *The Rudiments of Genteel Behaviour* (London, 1737).

Tryon continued that, rather than revealing any particular sentiment about the soul, it was custom alone that caused the right to appear stronger and more efficient than the left. He wrote:

> For Nature nor Gods Law knows nothing of neither Right nor Left, but they are words or terms, by which the Ancients distinguished good and evil Principles, and not the Hands or Members of the Body, as in the Cases of the *Ninivities*; where it is said, there were so many Thousands that did not know nor distinguish their Right Hands from their Left, that is, good from evil; which to do is the greatest Blessing and highest degree of Illumination, whatever some dull Souls may imagine to the contrary.[747]

Andry was partially in agreement with Tryon. He noted that although the right hand should be the upper hand, the instruction of the left should not be wholly neglected. Andry positively condemned those who had 'neither the Strength nor Dexterity to open a Door, cut a bit of Bread, or to hold a Glass of Water or Wine with the left

[747] Ibid, p. 93.

Hand'.[748] He therefore stated that children should sometimes be encouraged to use both their hands and praised 'ambidexters' who had this ability. Consequently, although in elite society being left handed was considered a deformity, being able to use both hands with some degree of skill was thought an addendum of politeness.

'Mein' and Performance

Moving the hands in a correct manner was thought essential for displaying a 'polite' mien. 'Mien' was a term which primarily referred to the deportment of the body. Johnson defined 'mien' as: 'Air; look; manner.' Demonstration of a polite 'mien' was thought to involve the conveyance of ease, grace and lack of affectation in all embodied movements and performances. In elite society the cultivation of 'mien' was considered vital as it represented a key expression of politeness. This was thought especially true for women. *The Polite Academy* proposed:

> A Young Woman of Virtue and good Sense, will never think it beneath her care and study to cultivate the Grace of her outward Mein and Figure, which contribute considerably towards making her Behaviour acceptable. For as the happy position of the Hands, Feet, and other Parts of the Body, there arises genteel Deportment; so where we see a young Lady standing in a genteel Position, or adjusting herself properly, in Walking, Dancing or Sitting, in a graceful manner, we never fail to admire that exterior Excellence of Form, and regular Disposition, suited to the Rules of Decency, Modesty and Good Manners.[749]

Cultivation of mien was also particularly significant for women as it was recognised as a means of displaying beauty. In the *London Belles,* a text that described the most celebrated female beauties in London, it was noted:

> In Looks, in Words, in Gesture, and in Air,
> In Shape, in Mein, in ev'ry Graceful Turn,
> The Fire is kindled, and the Passions Burn.[750]

Yet, whilst contemporaries presented mien as a 'natural' form of embodied expression, in reality mien was recognised as a form of behaviour that could only be

[748] Andry, *Orthopædia*, vol. 1, p. 209.
[749] *The Polite Academy*, p. vi.
[750] J. Browne, *The London Belles; or, a Description of the Most Celebrated Beauties* (London, 1707), p. 3.

cultivated through education and practice. The schooling of the hand represented an important part of this learning process. This is clearly evidenced in Nivelon's *Rudiments of Genteel Behaviour*. In this instructional work Nivelon offered readers a variety of highly technical visual and verbal instructions about how one should employ the hand when performing basic actions such as standing, walking and passing things to other people. Many other conduct works provided similar instruction. The Scottish minister and conduct author Adam Petrie, described by nineteenth-century commentators as 'the Scottish Chesterfield', told boys that when walking with a superior they should 'Be sure not to walk with your Hands behind your Back, or in your Sides before your Superiors; nor must you handle any Part of your Body in their Presence.'[751] *The Polite Academy* likewise implored boys to 'observe how Gentlemen walk the Streets, and walk like them; keep your hands quiet, and use no antick Motions.'[752] Failure to learn correct deportment could cause one to be mocked for being un-civilised and awkward. This is revealed in *The Polite Academy*'s story about a 'Lady Waddlepace'. It was noted:

> There is a Lady Waddlepace, who pretends to understand all the different Figures in Dancing, and possibly she does so; but still she has such a hobbling and awkward Gait, as plainly shows that she has no Conception of what is meant by elegant and graceful Motion; whilst her Daughter, when she stands or sits, does not know how to hold her Head, her Hands, or other Part of her Body, but appears as an unmeaning as a lifeless Statue.[753]

Commentators also repeatedly noted that it was necessary to regulate, move and position the hands in different ways in distinctive social circumstances. Knowing when to use the right gesture at the appropriate moment was considered especially important for men when delivering oratory. This was because from the seventeenth century, the hands were recognised as a key medium of embodied expression and communication. In 1644 John Bulwer, an English doctor and natural philosopher who wrote several works on human communication and the body, published a work specifically on this subject: *Chirologia; or the Natural Language of the Hand*. The purpose of this text was to instruct readers on the proper means by which they could convey rhetorical information to observers when speaking. He wrote:

[751] A. Petrie, *Rules of Good Deportment; or, of Good Breeding* (Edinburgh, 1720), p. 7.
[752] *The Polite Academy*, p. 28.
[753] Ibid, p. xxxv.

> In all the declarative conceits of Gesture, whereby the Body, instructed by Nature, can emphatically vent, and communicate a thought…the Hand, that busie instrument, is most talkative, whose language is easily understood, as if Man had another mouth or fountaine of discourse in his Hand.[754]

In the eighteenth century the hands were considered equally consequential means of communication. It was proposed in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* that the hands 'are the most important parts of the human body, as the sources to express all sorts of actions, and even convey our very thoughts and designs.'[755]

Since the seventeenth century, the stretching out of the right hand away from the body was recognised as a movement through which speakers implored their audiences to persuade them on the particular point. Bulwer proposed: 'The stretching out of the Hands is a natural expression of gesture, wherein we are significantly importunate, intreat, request, sue, solicite, beseech, and ask mercy and grace at the Hands of others.'[756] The Italian iconographer Cesar de Ripa, in his influential and frequently cited work *Iconologia; or, Moral Emblems* (1709), identified the moral emblem of Rhetoric as a 'A fair Lady, richly cloth'd' who 'holds up her right Hand open', before adding that she was positioned in this way as her 'open Hand shews Rhetoric discourses in a more open Way than Logic' (fig. 8).[757]

Figure 8. 'Rherorick', C. Ripa, *Iconologia: or, Moral Emblems* (London, 1709).

[754] J. B[ulwer], *Chirologia: or, The Naturall Language of the Hand* (London, 1644), p. 1.
[755] Smellie, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, p. 770.
[756] Bulwer, *Chirologia,* p. 11.
[757] C. Ripa, *Iconologia; or, Moral Emblems* (London, 1709), p. 80.

Nevertheless, while the significance of the communication of the hand was recognised by contemporaries, it appears that the British elite preferred forms of oratory presented with limited hand movement and gesture. Nivelon certainly advised men that positioning their hand inside their waistcoat when standing would make them appear very 'easy and genteel' (fig. 10). This is also shown by the way the French were often criticised for their over-exuberant hand gestures. Indeed, this frequently featured as a prominent element of satires targeted at the French. In *The Baboon a-la Mode* (1704), it was rhymed:

> A half a dozen Frenchmen when they meet,
> Their Tongues not only wag, but Hands and Feet,
> Each part about them seems to move and walk,
> Their eyes their noses, Nay their fingers talk.[758]

Consequently, limited and precise hand movement was identified as a defining aspect of British oratory delivery.

On the other hand, exaggerated movement of the hands was considered a vital means of conveying information on the stage. While the elite were not likely to perform on the stage, hand gesture was recognised as something the elite needed to regard in order to appreciate what they saw at the theatre and play house. Such discussions also suggest the significance of the hand as a tool for expressing sentiment. Thomas Wilkes emphasised the importance of the use of the hands as a way of illustrating meaning in his *General View of the* Stage (1759). He wrote:

> All action wherein the hands are not concerned, is weak and limited; their expressions are as various as language; they speak of themselves, they demand, promise, call, threaten, implore, detest, fear, question and deny. They express joy, sorrow, doubt, acknowledgement, repentance, moderation; they rouse up, prohibit and prove, admire and abash! All nations, all mankind understand their language.[759]

The extent to which the hands should be used as a medium of expression thus depended on the context in which they were employed.

[758] J. Dunton, *The Baboon a-la Mode* (London, 1704).
[759] T. Wilkes, *A General View of the Stage* (London, 1759), p. 142.

Women also actively used their hands in forms of social communication. One way women could express themselves in this manner was with the help of the hand fan. In order to demonstrate 'politeness', Towle advocated the use of the fan. He wrote: 'The Fan is genteel and useful, therefore it is proper young Ladies should know how to make a genteel and proper Use of it.'[760] Alongside displaying a polite mien, the specific positioning of the hand fan was recognised to convey particular forms of social information. In 1740, *The Gentleman's Magazine* provided a poetical epigram titled 'New Fashioned Fans', which talked about how women conveyed information to each other, and to men, by using their fans. It proposed:

> A speaking FAN; a very pretty thought;
> The toy is sure so full perfection brought:
> It is a noble, useful, great design.
> May the projectors genius ever shine!
> The fair one now, need never be alone:
> A Hardship sometimes on the sex is thrown,
> For female Notions are of that extent,
> Impossible, on tongue should give every sentiment,
> New schemes of dress, intrigue and play,
> Want new expressions everyday:
> And doubly blest! Must be the moral man,
> Who may converse with Sylvia and her FAN[761]

The poem reveals that, among other things, the whirling and positioning of the fan was seen as a means by which women could clandestinely flirt with men. A correspondent to *The Spectator* noted that there was 'an infinite Variety of Motions to be made use of in the *Flutter of a Fan*.' He then added: 'I have seen a Fan so very angry, that it would have been dangerous for the absent Lover who provoked it to have come within the Wind of it; and at other times so very languishing, that I have been glad for the Lady's sake the Lover was at a sufficient Distance from it.'[762]

Regulation of hand actions was considered to be of further consequence when the hands were engaged in distinctive sorts of social activity. Throughout this period there were many complex rules about how the hands should be used at meal times. *The School of Manners* advised young boys: 'Bite not thy bread but break it, but not

[760] Towle, *The Young Gentleman's and Lady's Private Tutor,* p. 194.
[761] *The Gentleman's Magazine* (December, 1740).
[762] *The Spectator*, No. 102 (27th June 1711).

with slovenly fingers, nor with the same wherewith thou takest up thy meat.'[763] As the century progressed there were increasingly prescriptive standards about how the hands should behave at meal times. *The Polite Academy* instructed boys to: 'Eat Soberly and Decently; and take great care to be Cleanly…eat with your knife and fork, Never touch your meat with your Fingers.'[764] Petrie gave out similar meal-time advice, this time telling young men not to grasp their glass with their whole hand: 'your Finger and Thumb is sufficient, or your two Fingers and Thumb.'[765] Holding the tea cup correctly, with the thumb underneath and fore-finger on the upper lip, was also considered a way by which women could display politeness. Bland implored: 'is any one's Hands more fit to handle *China* Dishes, than soft ones of a fair Lady'.[766] The dinner and tea table therefore represented important sites of embodied display where individuals could show off their polite dexterity to others.

Furthermore, the hands played important roles in forms of embodied engagement between social actors. There were strict rules and regulations about when it was appropriate for hands to come into contact. Convention dictated what these sorts of physical engagement meant in social terms. By way of example, handshaking was recognised as an acknowledgement of friendship. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* noted that 'the joining of hands is a universal token of friendship.'[767] Likewise, hand holding was recognised as an important element of courtship. One correspondent to *The Spectator* noted that the extent to which a man and woman loved one another could be ascertained from '[h]ow great the Contraction of the Fingers must be before it amounts to a Squeeze by the Hand' and '[w]hether a Lady, at the first Interview, may allow a Humble Servant to kiss her Hand.'[768] When it was appropriate for couples to touch one another was also extremely regulated. Jones wrote: 'Kissing, toying, and fooling between Men and their Wives at Table, is vastly unbecoming; if their Constitutions be warm indeed, 'tis better for them to rise and retire.'[769] This suggests that there were precise rules about when, and in what context, it was appropriate for

[763] Garretson, 'Rules for Behaviour in Company'.
[764] *The Polite Academy*, p. 19.
[765] Petrie, *Rules of Good Deportment, or of Good Breeding*, p. 87.
[766] Bland, *Essay in Praise of Women*, p. 194.
[767] Smellie, *Encylopaedia Britiannica*, vol. 1, p. 181.
[768] *The Spectator*, No. 591 (8th September 1714).
[769] Jones, *The Man of Manners*, p. 7.

two people's hands to meet. Hence, the shaking, joining and union of the hands played an important role in establishing social relationships in elite society.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that there was a complex portfolio of meanings attached to the appearance of the hands in the eighteenth century. These meanings changed significantly over the course of the century. In the early modern period the palm was considered a symbolic 'archive' of information about a person's identity. However, in the eighteenth century palmistry, along with other astrological beliefs, lost its cultural purchase as a method of explaining the meanings of the hand, rendering it 'meaningless' as a signifier of individual identity. Instead, medical authors set about defining and accounting for the corporeal uses of the different parts of the hand. In contrast, conduct authors and polite commentators busied themselves by providing strict rules that regulated the movement, use and employment of the hands for the purposes of 'polite' identity display. Yet, in the second half of the century these discussions became fused as commentators began to argue that the 'natural' appearance of the hands evidenced intrinsic information about a person's class, gender and occupation. Accordingly, in the eighteenth century the hands represented an important site for social relations and communication and were the focus for various systems of medical, philosophical and popular thought which accounted for the corporeal distinctions that differentiated social actors.

7. Legs and Feet

Introduction

The legs, or the lower limbs of the human body, encompassing the hips, thighs and feet, are the corporeal appendages that facilitate the performance of many socially significant embodied actions. These include standing, walking and running, jumping, dancing, and kicking. While the performance of these movements is often considered 'natural', the way in which the legs and feet are used in these operations is actually culturally informed. Embodied actions which involve the legs and feet in their enactment thus have their own distinctive characteristics that are constructed with reference to the demands of the society from which they emerge. The performance of these actions does not just vary from culture to culture, but also between the members of any given society. This is because the mode of their display is dependent on the age, class, gender, race, education and physical capability of the individual participating in their execution. The appearance and employment of the legs and feet engaged in different social actions thus informs the construction of 'personal identity'.

In studies concerning 'politeness', the performance of embodied actions involving the legs and feet has been an expanding area of research in recent years. This is because 'politeness' has been identified as a form of social behaviour that individuals sought to display through, among other things, socially informed embodied actions and gestures.[770] Katherine Glover, Anja Müller and Matthew MacCormack have all credited dancing as a form of embodied behaviour which individuals used to display their 'polite' qualifications and to educate their bodies in the proper modes of decorum befitting this social idiom.[771] McNeil and Riello have also contributed to this scholarship by examining the way in which changing fashions in male and female footwear, which facilitated or prohibited particular forms of embodied behaviour, reflected changing gender mores.[772] Together this research demonstrates that the display of the legs and feet, engaged in different sorts of cultural performance, was an important expression of 'politeness' in the eighteenth century.

[770] Porter, *Bodies Politic,* p. 72.
[771] Glover, *Elite Women and Polite Society;* Müller, *Framing Childhood;* M. McCormack, 'Dance and Drill: Polite Accomplishments and Military Masculinities in Georgian Britain', *Cultural and Social History*, 8:3 (2011), pp. 315-330.
[772] McNeill & Riello, 'The Art and Science of Walking', pp. 175-204.

The health of the legs and feet has also been a topic of interest to medically orientated cultural historians. Porter and Rousseau's study of gout has shown that many members of 'polite society' openly displayed ailments that affected the legs and feet within the 'public sphere'. By showing that many elite men paraded evidence of their gout, recognising it as an embodied symbol of their wealth, prosperity and status, these scholars have revealed that the display of such ailments could inform how individuals were perceived.[773] Likewise, in his recent study of disability Turner demonstrates that although deformities of the legs and feet carried many negative associations, 'disabled' individuals were often active in manipulating these connotations for their own purposes.[774]

This chapter will commence by exploring how the proportion of the legs could inform how contemporaries were socially categorised. The second section shall then continue by examining the legs and feet in terms of the idea of 'fitness', while the third will investigate how individuals thought to display 'politeness' through performances such as standing, walking, and dancing. It concludes by considering various ailments and deformities that affected the legs and feet, how they were perceived, and the ways in which contemporaries manipulated the associations attached to them to suit their own ends. Together this analysis will allow examination of the ways 'politeness' was physically embodied and corporeally displayed during the eighteenth century.

'Proportion' and Social Categorisation

Throughout the eighteenth century, commentators were repetitive in their assertions that the exemplary body was tall rather than short, straight and upright instead of crooked, and harmonious and symmetrical in all its proportions. Weaver wrote: 'FROM the Symmetry, and Harmony of all the Parts of a Body, of a regular Proportion, *Beauty* arises.'[775] In *The Spectator,* Addison made similar assertions, observing that of the beauty of the human body, there were 'several Modifications of Matter which the mind…pronounces at first sight Beautiful or Deformed'.[776] These matters, he attested,

[773] R. Porter & G. Rousseau, *Gout: The Patrician Malady* (Yale, 2000).
[774] Turner, *Disability in Eighteenth-Century England*, p. 9.
[775] Weaver, *Anatomical and Mechanical Lectures*, p. 89.
[776] *The Spectator,* No. 412 (22nd June 1712).

were those that consisted 'in the Symmetry and Proportion of Parts, in the Arrangement and Disposition of Bodies, or in a just Mixture and Concurrence of all together'.[777] Slightly later in the century Spence wrote in agreement: 'The general Cause of Beauty in the Form or Shape in both Sexes is a Proportion, or an Union and Harmony [e], in all Parts of the Body.'[778]

Ideally men were supposed to be taller than women and also have more 'robust' limbs. The 'robustness' of the male body, especially the leg bones, was thought to be the reason why men were taller in stature than women. Weaver stated that the body, being a 'Composition of several Figures of its external parts', according to the rules of nature, should in a male be 'six *Geometrical* Feet in Length; and one Foot and a Third in Thickness and Latitude.'[779] He added that in men's bones:

> A Considerable Variety is to be seen in reference to their Magnitude…The Magnitude of the Bones does not only differ in Men of different Stature, but also in those who are alike in Height; and it happens sometimes, that among the latter, you shall see their Bones differ very much in bigness.[780]

Mackenzie also remarked that a hot and dry temperament, most frequently associated with the male sex, was likely to produce a 'well proportioned body and limbs'.[781]

Women were expected to be physically smaller in height than men for, as the more 'delicate' of the two sexes, they were thought to have frailer bones which reduced their stature. For some the smallness of the female bones was the primary source of embodied female beauty. Weaver remarked that 'if Beauty depends on the slenderness of the *Bones*' then this must be 'one Reason why Women are, generally speaking, much handsomer than the Men.'[782] He added, once again making reference to the 'magnitude' of the bones, that this was why the 'Skeleton of a Woman' could be 'easily distinguished from that of a Man'.[783] Similar assertions were made by Mackenzie, who proposed that people with an excess of cold and wet humours in their

[777] Ibid.
[778] Spence, 'Crito', p. 14.
[779] Weaver, *Anatomical and Mechanical Lectures*, pp. 81-2.
[780] Ibid, p. 12.
[781] Mackenzie, *The History of Health*, p. 81.
[782] Weaver, *Anatomical and Mechanical Lectures*, p. 12.
[783] Ibid, p. 13.

body, like women, often had 'ill-shaped limbs.'[784] In terms of actual physical height, the optimum stature for women, according to *The Art of Beauty,* consisted 'in about five foot and a half; so that a woman may be counted too high or too low, in proportion as she is taller or shorter than this measure'.[785] The idea that men were 'naturally' meant to be taller than women appears to have taken root, not only because men were thought to be more physically 'robust' than women, but also as it was seen as an embodiment of the hierarchical social arrangement of the sexes.

In spite of these differences, both elite men and women believed themselves superior in stature and make to their corresponding gender counterparts in the lower orders. This was because the physical labour which the lower classes engaged in was thought to have debilitating effects on their limbs. Ramazzini certainly argued that many working men and women had limbs bent out of shape. He noted that these deformities varied in accordance with the nature of their employment. By way of example, he noted that tailors were often deformed because of the tasks they engaged in. He stated:

> The Taylors being oblidg'd to clap their Feet to their Thighs when they work, are often-times troubled with a Numbness in the Legs, a Lameness, and the Sciatica. Certainly 'tis worth while to observe the Societies of Taylors and Shoe-Makers, when they make their Publick Processions, two by two, upon Festival Occasions; or when they march at the Funerals of those of their Number, for they make such a crooked hunch back'd lame Figure, wriegling sometimes to one side, sometimes to another, as if they were set to act such a part on purpose.[786]

Ramazzini further observed that while bakers were likely to get knock-knees because of the repetitive action of kneading bread in a constrained position, carpenters, carvers, blacksmiths and masons, who spent a great deal of time standing, often had varicose veins. Soldiers and sailors were also recognised to suffer from many deformities and diseases of the legs and feet. This is because in their work they faced the dangers of battle, malnutrition and disease, all of which often led to the amputation of the limbs. The particular make or proportion of the limbs was thus considered indicative of an individual's social status and occupation.

[784] Mackenzie, *The History of Health*, p. 81.
[785] *The Art of Beauty*, p. 4.
[786] Ramazzini, *Treatise on the Diseases of Tradesmen*, p. 194.

As the form of the legs was read as a marker of social distinction, many contemporaries were concerned that by failing to live a temperate lifestyle their bodies would become corrupted, disordered and shrunken like their lower class compatriots. In his *Essay on Modern Luxury* Fawconer vented disgust at the way modern luxurious indulgences were corrupting the bodies of the once great nation of ancient Britons. He stated that the national stock, long being 'robust and hardy', had now 'dwindled into a dangerous and puny race of emasculated invalids'. Fawconer added: 'It is amazing to observe, what havock and destruction is made in the constitution by pride and effeminacy, riot and intemperance!'[787]

The foul effects of modern life were thought to be clearly evident in the cities, which were often presented as sites of corporeal corruption. Fawconer proposed that the 'fashion for every body to crowd to the metropolis, to spend part of the year in town, for the sake of its pleasures and diversions' was one of the main reasons for the corrupted state of the nation.[788] This idea stemmed from the belief that the place which people inhabited influenced the health of their body. The physician Edward Strother observed: 'Mankind itself draws its Nourishment and its Passions from the Place he lives in; when our Nourishment gives Blood and Spirits of a peculiar Nature, our Passions are naturally of a like Disposition.'[789]

In a general sense, the countryside was thought to be an environment that was conducive to the acquisition of health and long life. Conversely, it was feared that the pollution and dirt of the city could ruin the health and well-being of its inhabitants. The common presence of lower-class people with malformed, diseased and weak limbs was frequently presented as evidence of the corporeal dangers which the city posed. In his *History of the London Clubs,* Ward presented the 'beggars club' as a foul drunken group of broken-limbed, crippled individuals. He also located this 'club' firmly within the urban landscape. He wrote:

> This Society of Old Bearded Hypocrites, Wooden-Legg'd Implorers of Charity, Stroling Clapper-dugeons, Limping Dissemblers, Sham disabled Seamen, Blind

[787] Fawconer, *Essay on Modern Luxury*, p. 32.
[788] Ibid, p. 7.
[789] E. Strother, *The Family Companion for Health* (London, 1729), p. 2.

> Gunpowder-blasted Mumpers, and old broken Limb'd Labourers, hold their weekly Meeting at a famous Boozing Ken in the midst of Old-street.[790]

A correspondent to the *London Journal* similarly complained that the people of London should not have to suffer the sight of deformed beggars wandering 'the Streets exposing their distorted Limbs and filthy Sores.'[791] The common presence of people displaying crippled limbs upon the streets of London must have, in this light, been perceived by the elites as a warning about the potential dangers of the urban environment.

There were also recognised differences in the heights and limbs of separate 'races' of man. One common observation was that people of different races tended to have limbs that were shorter and more 'stunted' than the Europeans. The small stature of the 'Tartars' was a particularly common subject of comment. In *A Museum for Young Gentlemen and Ladies* it was said that the Tartars were a 'generally thick and short' race of people.[792] Later in the century Stanhope Smith made similar observations, asserting that the 'whole of the Tartar race are of low stature' and that their 'hands, feet, and whole limbs were uncommonly small.'[793] Stanhope Smith proposed that this was because the cold climate where these 'Northern Tribes' lived served in making them 'not only small, but weak and timid.'[794]

In a similar vein, Goldsmith observed of the residents of Greenland and Lapland that 'their long continuance in a climate the most inhospitable' and 'their being obliged to subsist on food the most coarse and ill prepared' had contributed to 'shorten their stature, and deform their bodies' (fig. 9).[795] In contrast, Goldsmith observed that natives of America often had long limbs and were of a tall height because of the heat of the area in which they lived. However, he added that their limbs were still of an inferior make to that of Europeans, as this heat caused their muscles to lack strength. He proposed: 'Their limbs are generally slighter than those of the Europeans; and I am assured, they are far from being so strong.'[796] In the

[790] Ward, *The History of the London Clubs*, p. 7.
[791] C. W. Bradley, *The London Journal,* No. 602 (13th February 1720).
[792] *A Museum for Young Gentlemen and Ladies*, p. 109.
[793] Stanhope Smith, *An Essay on the Causes of the Variety of Complexion*, p. 37.
[794] Ibid, p. 56.
[795] Goldsmith, *An History of the Earth*, vol. 2, p. 217.
[796] Ibid, p. 229.

eighteenth century, there were thus believed to be clear differences between the limbs and heights of different races of man which were thought to be owing to the climate in which they lived.

Figure 9. 'The Laplander', from O. Goldmsith, *An History of the Earth, and Animated Nature*, vol. 2 (London, 1790).

Generally it was remarked that people who lived in areas of moderate temperature, such as most of Europe, were tall. Goldsmith observed that Europeans 'differ a good deal from each other; but they generally agree in the colour of their bodies, the beauty of their complexions, the largeness of their limbs, and the vigour of their understandings.'[797] He continued that the chief cause of the taller stature of the Europeans resulted from 'the nature of the food, and the quantity of the supply.' He

[797] Ibid, p. 231.

added that 'food is great agent in producing this effect; where that is supplied in large quantities, where the quality is wholesome and nutrimental, the inhabitants are generally seen above the ordinary stature.'[798] This was the only reason, Goldsmith proposed, that variations in height were seen in different European countries. He wrote: 'the inhabitants of the valley are usually found taller than those of the hill: the natives of the Highlands of Scotland, for instance, are short, broad, and hardy; those of the Lowlands are tall and shapely.'[799] Differences in the shape, length, proportion and appearance of the legs, both independently and as they influenced the appearance of the whole body, were thus thought to denote information about a person's gender, class, race and the environment in which they lived.

'Fitness'

In the eighteenth century 'fitness' was identified as a defining feature of aesthetic beauty. It was for this reason that Hogarth began his *Analysis of Beauty* with a discussion of fitness. Hogarth defined fitness as: 'the parts of the design for which every individual thing is form'd, either by art or nature, is first to be consider'd, as it is of the greatest consequence to the beauty of the whole'.[800] However, although an important feature of aesthetic discussion, fitness was also a practical concern for the elites. This was because contemporaries recognised that many 'polite' forms of embodied display were contingent on the proper development of the legs and feet. Weaver observed that there were many deformities that could prevent people attaining properly 'polite' skills in dancing. He stated:

> THE Defects which happen to the Human Body, through the Mis-formation of the Parts, are many, and of various Kinds, which are either natural; or contracted by ill Habits; of the first Sort, are Crookedness in the Spine, or Back; Luxations of Hip, Knee, or Ankle; and Inversion of the Toes, even so far as they shall be turn'd almost in the Place, or natural Position of the Heel.[801]

[798] Ibid, p. 237.
[799] Ibid, p. 238.
[800] Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty*, p. 13.
[801] Weaver, *Anatomical and Mechanical Lectures*, p. 90.

Accordingly, from the 1720s a range of publications were written by medical authors and other commentators which provided detailed advice to parents on how to ensure that their children's bodies were 'fit for purpose' when they stepped out into society.

The first of many deformities of the legs and feet identified by these authors was 'crookedness'. When displayed by members of the elite this deformity was thought to arise from a failure on the part of nurses and parents to care properly for the legs and feet of children during infancy. *Domestic Medicine* warned parents: 'Even the bones of an infant are so soft…that they readily yield to the slight pressure, and easily assume a bad shape.'[802] According to Buchan, 'Nine tenths' of deformities incident to the body were caused by constrictive clothing.[803] In order to prevent this sort of malformation commentators thus advised against the artificial constriction of the child's body through practices like swaddling.[804] Being of this opinion, Stewart asked why do 'we voluntarily deprive' our children 'of the use of their limbs'? He also rhetorically asked: 'may not such a cruel restraint have an effect on their disposition'?[805] Commentators therefore repeatedly warned parents against the artificial constriction of the legs and feet because they believed that it rendered children deformed in both body and mind.

One way in which authors sought to show the 'barbarism' of swaddling was by evidencing how it was practiced by 'uncivilised' nations. Bracken suggested that those who practiced swaddling were no better than the 'barbarous' Chinese. He stated: 'For that the Bodies of Infants will admit of almost any Form, is plain to any one who has been in the *East-Indies*, where the *Chinese* Custom is to lace or swaddle the Feet into a very small Compass, nay even 'till they are almost crippled.'[806] Stewart made similar remarks. He attested that in countries where no swaddling occurred, people were generally 'tall, robust, and well-proportioned', and that countries where it was practiced 'swarm with hunch-backed, crooked-legged, lame, rickety, and deformed

[802] Buchan, *Domestic Medicine*, p. 14.
[803] Ibid, p. 15.
[804] Ibid, p. 10-15.
[805] Stewart, *Placacosmos*, p. 12.
[806] Bracken, *The Midwife's Companion*, pp. 272-3.

persons of every kind.'[807] In this way, swaddling was presented as an uncivilised and barbarous practice that corrupted the body of infants.

It was cautioned that deformities of the limbs could also be caused by more subtle maladministrations of infant care. Nurses were presented as being particularly negligent on this score. In a list detailing their wrongdoings, Weaver complained that nurses rarely paid adequate attention to how they carried their charges, which regularly caused infants' limbs to become deformed. He explained: 'Nor do these Nurses that due Care of the turning of the Limbs which generally occasion that ill Position of the Knees.'[808] *The Midwife's Companion* provided advice which explained how children should be properly held by the nurse. One such piece of advice was for nurses to carry children equally on either side. Bracken noted:

> A Nurse should be careful to carry the Child sometimes in one, sometimes in the other Arm; for carrying them always in one Arm is often the only Reason so many have crooked Legs, especially about the Knees; and tho' few Nurses mind this, yet it is of great Consequence to the Child's Legs and Knees.[809]

The body of the child was thus perceived to be so malleable that ensuring the proper development of the limbs was presented as something that required constant vigilance.

Another common affliction of the limbs was that of having one leg longer than the other. This was considered a deformity because it caused the whole body to become crooked and disabled the individual from performing many actions properly. Commentators believed this deformity arose from one of two causes. In the first instance, one leg was thought to be rendered longer than the other as a result of a problematic birth. Blame here was placed on the shoulders of the midwife who, it was believed, must have pulled too hard on one leg of the child upon its exit from the womb. In the second case, it was thought to be occasioned by some form of un-treated luxation or dislocation. Andry reported in *Orthopædia* the case of one woman who had 'dislocated her Thigh' and neglected to call for proper assistance, meaning

[807] Stewart, *Placacosmos*, p. 12.
[808] Weaver, *Anatomical and Mechanical Lectures*, p. 92.
[809] Bracken, *The Midwife's Companion*, p. 272.

that from then on 'she remained crooked'.[810] Hence, to ensure the proper development of the legs and feet authors advised watchful care over children's bodies from the moment they left the womb.

The reason why so much emphasis was placed on 'vigilance' was because it was believed that once the child's body had developed a deformity it was almost impossible to remedy. Ironically, as Sorge-English has pointed out, the principal means of correcting deformities of the body, even those brought about by practices such as swaddling, was through the use of constrictive forms of 'corrective' clothing. These garments included stays, corsets and bodices made of bone and steel, 'steel-backs', which were metal plates inserted inside the back of the wearers clothing, and corrective trusses and collars. Sorge-English writes: 'It is unlikely that the general population was aware of the incongruity between wearing stays as a means of encouraging the natural growth of the body, and wearing them as corrective garments.'[811]

One occasion when artificial measures could be used to remedy a deformity of the limbs, proposed Andry, was when the limbs were made 'crooked' by children being allowed to walk too soon. He stated: 'MANY Children have both their Thighs and Legs crooked. This Deformity frequently proceeds from letting them walk too soon, before their Legs have acquired sufficient Strength to support the Weight of the Body'.[812] To cure this deformity Andry implored parents to attach, as soon as this crookedness was observed, iron plates covered with linen rollers to the inside of the child's legs. It was proposed that this method was much the same as 'making streight the crooked Trunk of a young Tree' (fig. 10).[813] In this particular case it appears that artificial administrations were considered effective treatment because they were thought to help the body to find its 'natural' form.

[810] Andry, *Orthopædia*, vol. 1, p. 145.
[811] Sorge-English, *Stays and Body Image in London,* p. 139.
[812] Andry, *Orthopædia*, vol. 1, p. 210.
[813] Ibid, p. 211.

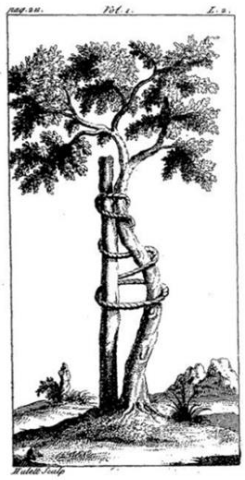

Figure 10. N. Andry, 'Young Tree Moulded into Shape', *Orthopædia* (London, 1743).

Administrations which involved the use of bindings were similarly advised in cases where the feet turned inwards or outwards. The bending of the feet was considered a deformity as it was thought to prevent proper movement. Towle was positive that the positioning of the feet was important for 'a graceful Motion of the body'.[814] He recorded: 'if they are turned outwards the Hips will appear firm, yet light and easy; but, if turned inwards, they will appear heavy and misplaced, aukward and ungenteel.'[815] Nivelon agreed that it was essential for the 'Air, Grace, and Motion of the human Figure' that feet turned outwards rather than in. This was because, he added, it would end up 'straining the Insteps and Ancles, and forcing the Knees forward in such a Manner as will prevent standing or moving upright.'[816] Women, Andry observed, were more likely to be 'in-toed' than men, who tended to more commonly exhibit the deformity of turning their feet too much outwards. Andry himself appears to have found this a particularly abhorrent deformity given his statement that there 'is nothing gives one a greater disgust at a Woman than this sort of Negligence'.[817] Abnormal turnings of the feet appear to have been considered especially un-genteel deformities as they were thought to result from some failing in

[814] Towle, *The Young Gentleman and Lady's Private Tutor*, p. 190.
[815] Ibid.
[816] Nivelon, 'Introduction', *The Rudiments of Genteel Behaviour.*
[817] Andry, *Orthopædia*, vol. 1, p. 213.

basic parental care and vigilance. Taking Andry's comments into consideration, they also seem to have been regarded as embodied symbols of in-civility.

Another deformity that individuals were thought to develop in childhood was the legs becoming 'too thin' or 'too thick'. These ailments were believed to be brought about by the legs receiving too much or too little nourishment in childhood. Andry commented: 'sometimes one or both Arms, or one or both Legs, by receiving too much Nourishment, become thicker than they ought to be.'[818] The display of a thick leg was thought a particularly unfavourable deformity in men, whose legs, because of the fashion for short breeches, were almost always on show. James Todd reminded his young male readers that civility did not simply consist of 'making a Leg', although in the process revealed that a shapely leg was an important attribute for a man.[819] The best 'leg' was thought to be that which curved in and out at the knee, calf and ankle. Spence asserted: 'The *Knee* should be even, and well-rounded; the *Legs* strait, but varied by a proper Rounding of the more fleshy Part of them; and the *Feet* finely turned, white, and little.'[820] Legs of this shape appear to have been the most favoured as they were thought to indicate that the individual enjoyed vigorous good health and lived a temperate active lifestyle. This understanding is revealed in discourses relating to gout, an illness recognised to make the joints swell and appear out of shape. Buchan certainly noted that no disease 'sets the advantages of temperance and exercise in a stronger light' than gout, as he proposed that it was clear that the 'true source from whence that malady sprung' was *'excess* and *idleness*.'[821] Correspondingly, the display of a well-shaped leg must have been thought to indicate that the individual who displayed it lived a temperate active life.

The display of the calves was not commonly discussed in reference to women. This was because the exposure of the female calves was seen as being indecent. In the *The Virgin Unmask'd* the young Antonia discussed the immodesty of the exposure of the leg with her aunt. She confessed that she thought there was nothing as immodest

[818] Ibid, p. 148.
[819] J. Todd, *The School-Body and Young Gentleman's Assistant, Being a Plan of Education* (Edinburgh, 1748), p. 32.
[820] Spence, 'Crito', p. 18.
[821] Buchan, *Domestic Medicine*, p. 484.

in dressing as 'when People shew those Parts, which the Custom of the Country bid 'em to hide.'[822] Antonia added:

> In some Countries Womens Petticoats reach but a little lower than their Knees; yet if here a Woman, walking along the Street, should pluck up her Coats half Way the Calf of her Leg, Everybody would call her immodest; and therefore if any Parts be Obscene, they must be such as are carefully hid, and not those that are used to be bare.[823]

The exposure of the leg was thus considered rude and immodest for women in the eighteenth century.

Accordingly, the appearance of the feet, the only parts of the female leg that would have been visible under long flowing gowns, was much more noteworthy. A small foot was believed particularly 'beautiful' when exhibited by a lady. It was stated in *Letters to the Ladies*: 'A little foot has been regarded in all ages as one of the characteristics of beauty.'[824] Yet, the author did add that women should not endeavour to make their feet appear smaller by artificial means, warning that it would prevent them from showing the body off to its best advantage when walking. This was significant, the writer noted, because the affection of 'ease and gracefulness in walking' was a means by which 'charms of beauty are displayed to the most eminent advantage'.[825] This evidence suggests that the exemplary legs described in the pages of medical advice and conduct books of the eighteenth century were informed by the 'polite' cultural performances which the legs were expected to engage in. That is, the exemplary body they laid out within their pages was thought to be the one most conducive to the performance of 'polite' comportments.

Stepping Out 'Politely'

For many elite parents, the proper development of their children's limbs was of paramount concern because they were aware that the proper performance of physical comportments was a vital means by which politeness could be displayed.[826] Abel

[822] Mandeville, *The Virgin Unmask'd,* pp. 6-7.
[823] Ibid, p. 7.
[824] *Letters to the Ladies*, p. 80.
[825] Ibid, p. 82.
[826] Klein, 'Politeness and the Interpretations of the British Eighteenth Century', p. 874.

Boyer defined 'politeness' as the art of pleasing which demanded 'dextrous management of our Words and Actions, whereby we make other People have better Opinion of us and themselves'.[827] The importance of the display of 'polite' comportment was emphasised in *The Spectator*. Addison stated:

> A Man of Learning and Sense is distinguished from the others as he is such, tho' he never runs upon Points too difficult for the rest of the World; in a like Manner the reaching out of the Arm, and the most ordinary Motion, discovers whether a Man ever learnt to know what is the true Harmony and Composure of his Limbs and Countenance.[828]

Many agreed with Philpot's assertion that this physical education should commence as soon as possible. He stated:

> If Children are taught Young, before any ill Habits have taken Place, and be made to turn their Feet out, and keep their Heads and Bodies upright; this will be a Means of Preserving their Shapes, and give them a becoming Gracefulness in their Air; and, if they are not so far advanced in Years as to have their Joints fixed and settled, it may be a Means to recover them from the aukward Gait or Form of Body, they may be inclinable to.[829]

Therefore, it was thought that by appropriating and customising the body to polite forms of comportment the physical behaviours associated with 'politeness' would become 'natural'.

In elite circles, the individual charged with the responsibility of educating the child's body in politeness, more often than not, was the dancing master either in person or through one of their treatises. Elite children were sent to the dancing master from a remarkably young age, so young in fact, that in 1711 *The Spectator* censured parents for sacrificing their children's childhoods in the pursuit of physical 'politeness'. It was stated:

> When a Girl is safely brought from her Nurse, before she is capable of forming one simple Notion of any thing in Life, she is delivered to the Hands of her Dancing-Master; and with a Collar round her Neck, the pretty wild Thing is taught a fantastical Gravity of Behaviour, and forced to a particular Way of

[827] A. Boyer, *The English Theophrastus; or, The Manners of the Age* (London, 1702), p. 108.
[828] *The Spectator*, No. 334 (24th March 1711).
[829] S. Philpot, *An Essay on the Advantage of a Polite Education Joined with a Learned One* (London, 1747), pp. 72-3.

> holding her Head, heaving her Breast, and moving with her whole Body; and all this under Pain of never having a Husband, if she steps, looks, or moves awry.[830]

Despite this sort of criticism it continued to be the norm for children to commence their physical education at a young age. This was because learning how to dance correctly was considered one of the basic rudiments of 'politeness'. Towle asserted:

> Dancing gives every one who has learnt the Art, a proper Deportment, a genteel Behaviour and an easy Address; it also Teaches them to place their Limbs properly, that is, to hold up the Head, to turn out the Toes, to walk upright, and upon a Foot.[831]

Parents were also probably aware that their children's success in later life depended on their ability to master these skills.

The dancing instructor's first lesson to children was how to behave decently and hold their body in a civilised manner. To begin with, children were taught to keep their limbs, particularly their legs, to themselves and not to fidget. Garretson's *School of Manners* instructed boys to 'Play not wantonly like a Mimick with thy Fingers or Feet', and to 'Sit not with thy legs crossed, but keep them firm and settled, and thy Feet even'.[832] Towle was particularly stern in his instruction, forewarning his young readers that failure to follow his admonitions would result in public embarrassment being brought upon them in later life. He stated:

> In the next Place, if you intend to be esteemed and admired for your genteel and polite Behaviour, you are confined by the Laws of Civility, to sit in a genteel and easy Posture; if you stretch out your Legs, and loll in your Chair, yawn, and sit uneasy, this Kind of Behaviour will give them an Opportunity to censure you of behaving very ill, and will appear as if you were tired of their Company.[833]

Boys were also more likely than girls to be given this sort of instruction on the importance of decent bodily behaviour.

Once the basic rules of decency had been ascertained the dancing master would move on to instructing his charges on how to stand correctly. This instruction commenced with children being taught to stand with the entire surface of their feet

[830] *The Spectator*, No. 66 (16th May 1711).
[831] Towle, *The Young Gentleman and Lady's Private Tutor,* p. 179.
[832] Garretson, 'Rules for Behaviour in Company', *School of Manners.*
[833] Towle, *The Young Gentleman and Lady's Private Tutor,* pp. 131-2.

upon the ground. Weaver stated: 'a Man cannot stand upon his Heel, or Extremity of his Toe', adding that to 'stand upright and firm, both Feet are required, the Line of *Innixion* falling either between the Feet, or on one Foot.'[834] *The Polite Academy* went even further, providing a list that described how the body should appear when in the standing position. Some of these maxims included: 'Always turn out your Feet, because that makes you stand firm, easy, and graceful'; 'A Boy who turns his Feet in, stands as if he were falling'; 'Let your Feet be plac'd at a small Distance from one another, not too close, nor too wide or spreading.'[835] Nivelon, on the other hand, advised that the 'whole Body must rest on the right Foot, and the right Knee, as also the Back be kept straight; the left Leg must be foremost, and only bear its own weight, and both Feet must be turn'd outwards'.[836] Consequently, the ideal positioning for the legs and feet when standing appears to have demanded the placement of both feet entirely on the floor, with a slight space between them, sometimes with one leg placed slightly in front of the other (fig. 11).

Lesson three, as indicated from the organisation of many dancing manuals, was walking. The rules for walking correctly were extremely complex and, as a result, walking awkwardly was a frequent object of censure. Andry asserted that there were those 'who can neither walk nor stand, with a tolerable good Grace, and this alone is sufficient to make them be despised in the Eye of the World.'[837] Nivelon emphasised the importance of taking steps in proportion with the height of the body by measuring each step against other parts of the body. He proposed that 'the Leg that moves foremost must come to the Ground with a strait Knee' and that the knee should be straight in line with the foot. It was stated that this was because, 'without being straight on the advanc'd Knee' it was unlikely that the person performing this action would be able 'to WALK well, easy, or graceful.'[838] It was also said that by using this measurement the 'Body will insensibly move to that and leave the other Leg light and free to pass forward in like Manner.'[839] Furthermore, *The Polite Academy* warned boys 'Don't lift up your Leg too high: and bring it down with your Knee strait', while telling

[834] Weaver, *Anatomical and Mechanical Lecture*, p. 102.
[835] *The Polite Academy*, pp. 36-7.
[836] Nivelon, 'Standards', *Rudiments of Genteel Behaviour.*
[837] Andry, *Orthopædia*, vol. 2, p. 225.
[838] Nivelon, 'Walking', *Rudiments on Genteel Behaviour.*
[839] Ibid.

the girls to 'Take short Steps', suggesting that modes of walking were also expected to vary in accordance with the gender of the performer.[840]

Figure 11. 'Standing', F. Nivelon,*The Rudiments of Genteel Behaviour* (London, 1737).

There were also differences in the types of walking thought appropriate in different social settings. In the first instance, the importance of entering a room in a 'polite' manner was accentuated. Philpot noted: 'The want of knowing how to come handsomely into a Room, has put many Men of good Learning to the Blush.'[841] Andry similarly presented entering a room as the key moment when displaying a 'polite'

[840] Anon., *The Polite Academy*, p. 38, p. 49.
[841] Philpot, *An Essay on the Advantage of a Polite Education*, p. 69.

manner of walking, stating that parents needed to make use of all the methods necessary to ensure that their children, 'after they are arrived at a certain Age, may neither enter a Room, nor go out of it, nor sit down, nor rise up, nor stand, nor walk, in such a manner as to make them pass any where for Fools.'[842] This sort of entrance was probably considered significant as it was seen as the instant when the individual 'entered society' and made their first impressions.

When walking in the street and 'abroad', however, the rules were slightly different. Petrie taught that 'gentlemen' walking to get somewhere upon the streets never went too fast, only took small steps and made sure they walked in a straight line. He stated:

> A Gentleman ought not to run or walk too fast in the Streets, lest he be suspected to be going a Message; nor ought his Pace to be too slow; nor must he take large Steps, nor too stuff and stately, nor lift his Legs too high, nor stamp hard on the Ground, neither must he swing his Arms backward and forward, nor must he carry his Knees too close, nor must he go wagging his Breech, nor with his Feet in a straight Line, but with the In-side of his Feet a little out, nor with his Eyes looking down, nor too much elevated, nor looking hither and thither, but with a sedate countenance.[843]

While when walking upon the 'streets' men were taught to walk with purpose, when 'promenading' with other people a slower more dignified pace was recommended. *The Polite Academy* advised that when out with company, men and women should walk 'silently, quietly and decently' as they did at home, and never run before or lag behind the company.[844] Adherence to this sort of walking in places like the pleasure garden was considered especially important as they were recognised as spaces where people deliberately went to perform the action of walking and judge others in the same respect. Cesar de Saussure remarked on his visit to Kensington Gardens:

> The promenade in Kensington Gardens, is one of the most interesting scenes to a stranger in London. Hyde-Park becomes the point of attraction that concentrates on the fashionable world, from the moment the spring dawns forth its awakened beauties. The ride is, on Sunday, crowded with ladies and

[842] Andry, *Orthopædia*, vol. 2, p. 227.
[843] Petrie, *Rules of Good Deportment,* p. 6.
[844] *The Polite Academy*, p.26.

> gentlemen on horseback; the promenade with rank and beauty on foot; all elegantly attired, moving in one crowded scene towards Kensington Gardens.[845]

The purpose of this promenade, he added, was for the members of the party 'to see and be seen'. In this mode, the performance of walking was recognised to vary in different social contexts and in accordance with the purpose of its action.

That being said, of all the cultural performances which the legs and feet engaged in, none was more complex, difficult to learn, and as critically judged as dancing. This was because dancing was understood as an important means by which individuals could show 'elegance of posture and control of carriage.'[846] Costeker emphasised that dancing showed 'the genteel and most proper Attitudes of the body, and without which no Person can be said to be well-bred.'[847] A letter contained in *The Polite Academy* to a Miss Sophia from her mother also applauded the virtues of dancing. Dancing, it was asserted, was 'one of the most genteel and polite Accomplishments which a young Lady can possess.' She added that this was also 'an Art in which you will frequently be obliged to show your Skill, in the fashionable Balls and Assembles, to which your Birth and Connections will entitle you to be introduced.'[848] Dancing was thus seen as a vital 'polite' comportment that one must display to participate in elite society in the eighteenth century.

However, Miss Sophie's 'Mamma' warned her that dancing was not so easy a skill to learn as 'many people imagine.'[849] Learning how to dance the steps of all the different dances used at balls must certainly have taken an extremely long time, given that *The Dancing Master; or Directions for Dancing Country-Dances* contained instruction on the steps of no fewer than 350 dances.[850] Happily, Feuillet Raoul-Auger reassured his readers in *The Art of Dancing* (1706) that in terms of the movement of

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[845] C. de Saussure, *A Foreign View of England in the Reigns of George I. & George II* (London, 1802), p. 105.
[846] Glover, *Elite Women and Polite Society*, p. 32.
[847] Costeker, *The Fine Gentleman*, p. 42.
[848] *The Polite Academy*, p. xxiv.
[849] Ibid.
[850] This work was first published by John Playford in 1651 as *The English Dancing Master*. It became *The Dancing Master* in the second edition of 1652, *The Dancing Master; or Directions for Dancing* in the third edition of 1652, and *The Dancing Master; or Directions for Dancing Country Dances* in the fourth edition of 1670. By the time it had reached its twelfth edition in 1703 it was said to contain 'above 350 of the choicest old and new tunes'. It reached its eighteenth edition by 1725.

the legs there were only ten main positions and five main steps that needed to be learned. Of the steps, he remarked:

> Altho' the *Steps* made use of in Dancing are almost innumerable, yet may they be reduc'd to Five, which may serve to express all the different Figures the Leg is capable of making: We call these the *Right Step*, the *Open Step*, the *Round Step*, the *Twisted Step*, and the *Beaten Step*.[851]

Usefully, Raoul-Auger also provided diagrams within his work which illustrated the exact sort of the positioning of the feet needed to form different steps (fig. 12). This evidence suggests that there were many complex rules which dictated how people should perform different movements that involved the legs in the eighteenth century. It also shows that the modes in which these actions were performed in distinctive social spaces were directly informed by the social idiom of 'politeness'.

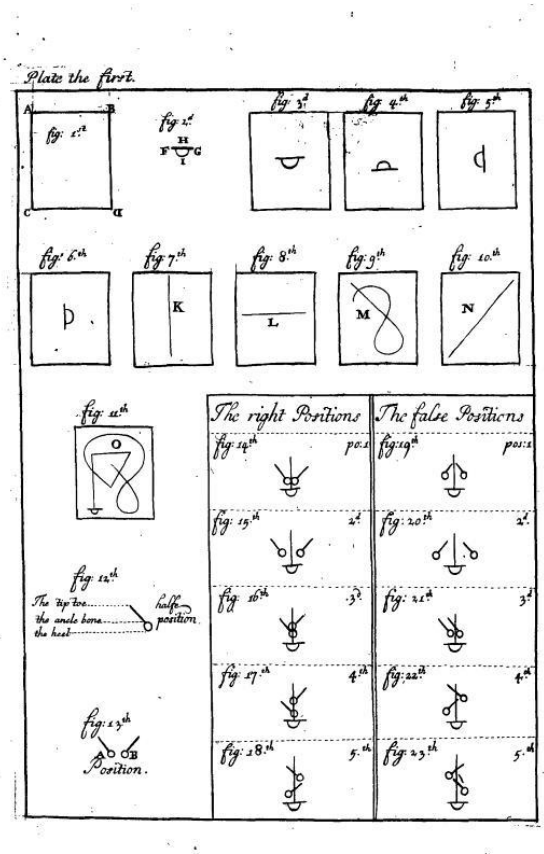

Figure 12. F. Raoul-Auger, *The Art of Dancing* (London, 1706).

[851] F. Raoul-Auger, *The Art of Dancing* (London, 1706), p. 7.

Living with 'Deformity' and 'Disease'

Evidence from a range of studies has demonstrated that diseases and deformities of the legs and feet were much more common in the eighteenth century than today.[852] Skeletal abnormalities, burns, ulcers, broken and amputated limbs, caused by birth defects, poor nutrition, ageing, and occupational hazards, meant disabilities were found at every level of society. However, the incidence of particular diseases varied in their frequency between the lower and upper classes, meaning that there were some significant variations in how different ailments and deformities were perceived. Accordingly, in the eighteenth century distinctive disabilities of the legs and feet were encoded with different associations, which informed the way in which different people were treated by others. Diseases and deformities of the legs and feet could thus bring both physical and social bearing on individuals' lived experiences within elite society.

This was certainly the case for the Member of Parliament William Hay who, in his 'Deformity: an Essay', detailed his own experiences as a disabled person. Helen Deutsch notes that Hay was probably 'the first writer in the history of English literature to conceptualize and articulate physical disability as a personal identity.'[853] Hay's essay therefore provides us with a unique insight and critique of the cultural and social constructions of disability during the Enlightenment.[854] In his essay Hay, a hunch-back who was less than five foot in height with bent, crooked legs, reflected that there were 'many Great and Tall Men' among his acquaintance who showed him enormous respect. Yet, he noted that throughout his life he had suffered innumerable 'affronts' when out walking in the streets as a result of his appearance. He admitted that even his friends found great amusement in witnessing him emerging 'from an Eclipse of a Sirloin of Roast beef, or of a Bowl of Punch, that stood between us.'[855]

Hay noted that, from his own perspective, it was not his appearance or the affronts that he received from strangers which he found the most distressing part of his disability. This was because, Stephen Pender argues, Hay contested that physical

[852] I. S. Loudon, 'Leg Ulcers in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', *Journal of the Royal College of General Practitioners*, 31 (1981), pp. 263-273; S. Dickie, *Cruelty and Laughter: Forgotten Comic Literature and the Unsentimental* (Chicago, 2011).
[853] H. Deutsch, 'The Body's Moments', *Prose Studies: History, Theory, Critisicism*, 27 (2005), p. 11.
[854] K. James-Cavan, '"[A]ll in me is Nature": The Values of Deformity in William Hay's *Deformity: An Essay'*, *Prose Studies: History, Theory, Criticism*, 27 (2005), p. 27.
[855] W. Hay, 'Deformity: An Essay', in *Fugitive Pieces*, vol. 1, p. 97.

anomaly was '*not* an indication of spiritual or cognitive deficiency'.[856] Indeed, Hay actively re-directed the negative attention he received as a result of his appearance back upon those who attacked him. He stated:

> This Difference of Behaviour towards me hath given me the strongest Idea of the Force of Education; and taught me to set a right Value upon it. It is certainly the Stamp of a Man's Character: it distinguishes the base from the valuable Metal: and is the Barrier between the Mob and the civilised Part of Mankind.[857]

What Hay did find upsetting was that his disability sometimes prevented him from appearing 'gentlemanly' or 'polite', as it denied him the opportunity of performing some 'polite' civilities. By way of example, in one section of the essay he mentioned his fear of causing offence because of his incapacity to pick up a ladies fan or glove if she dropped it.

Hay's inability to perform the same actions as other men also appears to have spilled over into his sense of masculinity. There is unquestionably a sense within his writing that because of his small 'deformed' stature, Hay often felt invalidated as a man.[858] One day when he visited a trooping of the Guards with a friend, he commented that he: 'Seemed to myself a Worm and no Man; and could not but inwardly grieve; that when I had the same Inclination to the service of my country and Prince, I wanted the strength to perform it'.[859] From this evidence it seems that deformities of the legs and feet could debar individuals from appearing 'polite' and fully participating in elite society. On the other hand, it demonstrates that by being disrespectful to individuals who displayed such deformities, the abusers themselves could be negatively judged and that there was a multitude of different meanings attached to disability and deformity during the Enlightenment.

While some, such as Hay, were born with their deformities, others developed them in adulthood. One of the most common ailments affecting the legs of the elites was ulcers caused by infected wounds, malnutrition, and, in a smaller number of cases, varicose veins. When accounting for the incidence of leg ulcers most

[856] S. Pender, 'In the Bodyshop: Human Exhibition in Early Modern England,' in H. Deutsch, H. & F. Nussbaum (eds), *Defects: Engendering the Modern Body* (Ann Arbour, 2000), pp. 115-6.
[857] Hay, 'Deformity: An Essay', p. 98.
[858] James-Cavan, '"[A]ll in me is Nature"', p. 31.
[859] Hay, 'Deformity: An Essay', p. 101.

commentators agreed that it originated from the build-up of acrid humours in the blood.[860] The open sore of an ulcer was thus imagined as a drain through which the noxious humours that produced it could escape. As a result of this understanding, surgeons were of the belief that by healing the skin around the ulcer they would trap 'acrid humours' in the body, potentially causing death to the patient. One commentator stated:

> whether a congelation of inveterate Sores or Ulcers in the feet and legs can be effected with safety, because there are instances in the writings of most experienced physicians where the consequences of such cases have been very sever and dangerous disorders and oftentimes most certain present death.[861]

The only way of ensuring health in such cases, physicians noted, was by lessening the size of the ulcer, while still leaving it sufficiently open to allow the noxious humours that had occasioned this ailment to exit the body.[862]

As a result, people were rarely fully cured of their leg ulcers and this meant that many cases led to a necessary amputation of the leg. Amputations were also extremely common result of what we might consider 'treatable' health problems such as minor fractures, shallow wounds, and infections. It was most probably surgeons' willingness to use amputation as a method of cure that earned them the nick-name 'Dr Sawbones'. While the working classes would have had no choice but to fashion themselves wooden peg legs, the elites would have been able to afford more elaborate replicas. These replicas became more sophisticated and increasingly common in the later eighteenth century. Perhaps some of the best of these were manufactured by the Edinburgh artisan Gavin Wilson, who Monro stated in the *Freemason's Magazine* had created artificial legs and arms that were 'preferable to any I have ever seen'. He added: 'the leg, when properly fitted, proves equally useful with the common timber-leg, and is preferable for being neater'.[863] Thus over the course of the eighteenth century there grew an increasing demand for artificial limbs

[860] Weisser, 'Boils, Pushes and Wheals', p. 322.
[861] Anon., *The Medical Museum: or, Select Cases, Experiments, Enquires and Discoveries,* vol. 3 (London, 1763), p. 538.
[862] Loudon, 'Leg Ulcers in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', p. 301.
[863] *The Freemason's Magazine*; *or, General and Complete Library*, December (1795).

that provided superior utility and disguised the visual appearance of the impairment.[864]

Yet, whilst members of the elite increasingly attempted to hide their amputated and diseased limbs, many people were happy to parade evidence of gout. Gout was a remarkably common affliction among the upper classes in the eighteenth century, being a disease caused by the consumption of large quantities of rich food and drink (see chapter 1). Cheyne advised his readers that in order to cure the affliction they must eat moderately and temperately, take plenty of exercise, and abstain from sexual intercourse.[865] In this way, gout was perceived as a sign of status as only those who could afford to live excessively would suffer under its infirmities.

As a result of its common occurrence among the elite, gout also appears to have been a source of camaraderie which was sometimes taken as a corporeal token of 'politeness.' Gout was defined by Lord Chesterfield, writing to his son from Bath, as 'the distemper of a gentleman.'[866] Even more outrageously, the sub-title of the satirical essay *The Honour of the Gout* (1727) proclaimed it to be 'one of the greatest blessings that can befall mortal man.' In some cases this praise was serious, as several physicians thought gout useful for demanding that their patients, however briefly, take respite from their overly indulgent lives. Cowper noted that although gout was 'a distemper painful in itself', he added that the rest it demanded did 'at least' provide 'some comfort…for the Patient and those who love him.'[867]

Nevertheless, for many the opposite was true, with gout being viewed by them as an excuse to enjoy the pleasures offered in spa towns such as Bath. The quiet country parson John Penrose reported that upon his own visit to Bath for the cure of a gouty leg, he had never been busier. He remembered: 'We all thought, that we should not know here what to do with ourselves, Time would hang so heavy on our hands in a strange Place: but, on the contrary…we have no Respite. All is Hurry Hurry'.[868] In this way, gout does not always appear to have been a disease that was negatively perceived because through its display sufferers demonstrated their social status and

[864] Turner, *Disability in Eighteenth-Century England*, p. 53.
[865] Cheyne, *Essay of the True Nature and Due Method of Treating the Gout*, p. 125.
[866] Chesterfield, *Letters to his Son*, p. 494.
[867] 'Correspondence', 17th March 1788 in R. Southey (ed.), *The Works of William Cowper* (London, 1837).
[868] J. Penrose quoted in P. Corfield, 'Georgian Bath: The Magical Meeting Place', *History Today*, 40:11 (1990), pp. 26-33.

were able to forge a sense of class camaraderie with others who found themselves labouring under similar pains.

Conclusion

The display, shape, employment and health of the legs and feet was of great concern to the elite during the eighteenth century. This was because contemporaries recognised that the appearance of the legs and feet was often judged in reference to ideals of corporeal beauty. It was also because they were believed to indicate information about a person's social status and 'politeness'. However, the interest in the legs and feet expressed in a range of didactic texts also stemmed from the conceptualisation of these parts of the body as inherently malleable entities which needed to be physically trained. In addition, the chapter has shown that although the display of 'deformities' of the legs and feet could often constrict individuals' participation within elite society, in other cases, diseases were sometimes socially facilitating as they were seen as signs of social status. This situation highlights the fact that in the eighteenth century the legs and feet were inscribed with many complex meanings, but how these cultural associations informed the way in which individuals were perceived depended on the identity of the person who displayed them and the context of their exhibition.

Conclusion

> An *humane Body* may be considered either *generally*, with respect to the *whole*; or *particularly*, with respect to each *part* of which it consists. In its *general* consideration there are to be taken notice of, its external form or shape, its bulk, and its colour. But these Accidents being obvious to the eye of every man, as well as the Anatomist's, are no proper subjects for our discourse. The *particular* consideration of it observes and describes the figure, connexion and composition, or structure of each several *part*, and the great diversity of their actions and uses.[869]

In *The Anatomy of Humane Bodies*, the popular anatomist Thomas Gibson argued that better understanding of the body could only be derived through closer examination of its parts. Indeed, Gibson noted that although the general shape, form and colour of the body was known to 'everyman', he proposed that discernment of the body's various functions, uses and actions depended on analysis of the figure, composition, and connections between each of its separate components. Gibson thus presented discursive dismemberment as a process through which empirical truths about the body could be revealed.

This research has shown that in the eighteenth century many popular authors appropriated this anatomical method of discursive dismemberment to uncover, for themselves, how bodies worked and to inscribe various forms of identity information upon the visible body. It is argued that this discursive endeavour was of interest to contemporaries because by judging aspects of an individual's appearance against these catalogues of information about the body, they believed that they could discern who someone 'really was' in the complex and increasingly anonymous social matrix that was urban society. It is also contended that by arming themselves with this knowledge, the elite were able to alter aspects of their appearance to convey various forms of information about their identity.

This thesis has argued that discursive dismemberment wrought many changes to the ways the body was understood in popular thought between 1650 and 1800. In chapter one it was demonstrated that prior to 1650 the investigation of the anatomy of the body was principally the domain of elite physicians and surgeons. Most medical

[869] Gibson, *The Anatomy of Humane Bodies*, p. 1.

understandings of the body at this time, and through to the mid-eighteenth century, were founded in humoural Galenic medicine. This system of medical thought was based on the idea that human physiology was dependant on the balance of the humours. It was believed that the consistency of the humours varied from person to person in accordance with their 'temperament', gender, age, diet, health, the climate and topography of the region in which they lived, and their 'modes of life' or employment. Correspondingly, as has been illustrated in each of the chapters of this research, from the early modern period through until the mid-eighteenth century, information about a person's identity, as defined by these factors, was thought to be revealed by the external colour, shape and form of the body.

Nevertheless, in the late seventeenth century new anatomical modes of investigation, based on analysis of the body's parts, were set in motion to destabilise humoural understandings of the body as a collection of fluids. This is because they caused the body to be viewed as an entity which consisted of a collection of structurally independent but interconnected organs. This shift was examined in chapter two in conjunction with the way that the skin went from being seen as a transparent sheath, the appearance of which conveyed information about a person's humoural 'complexion', to a multi-dimensional structure that performed its own set of distinctive corporeal functions. Similar themes were also explored in chapter one in reference to changing medical ideas about the functions of the liver and stomach in the early eighteenth century.

From the late seventeenth century lay readers were also exposed to anatomical information about the body due to the publication of an increasing number of vernacular texts on the subject. Yet, the ideas about the body presented in popular books were distinctive from those contained in elite medical texts. Firstly, popular authors asked different questions about the body to elite physicians. Primarily they sought to uncover the reasons for visible bodily distinctions and differences. This was illustrated in the examination of the explanations used to account for the presence of birth marks (chapter 2), differences in skin and hair colouration (chapters 2 & 3), and congenital abnormalities of the legs and feet (chapter 7). Secondly, recognising that the consumption of their texts, as consumer products, depended on the presentation of opinions that conformed to readers' expectations, many popular authors used

information about the body taken from folklore, astrology, magic and religion. This discursive 'mixing' of ideas about the body was illustrated in the analysis of physiognomy and palmistry (chapters 3 & 5), where medical and astrological understandings of the body were shown to have been posited side-by-side in popular texts.

From the early to mid-eighteenth century popular social commentators also became interested in what the appearance of the body revealed about a person's social identity and character. This was because the population growth, urbanisation and commercialisation occurring at this time meant that within urban settings people were increasingly reliant on using external appearances to work out who someone was. These cultural changes also served to make bodies, of a variety of different shapes, sizes and colours, more visible. The growing cultural preoccupation with the body as a 'social actor' at this time is evidenced in the emergence of politeness. This is because politeness, a dominant code of social behaviour in the first half of the eighteenth century, was a social idiom preoccupied with appearances that explicitly presented the body as a vehicle for 'self' articulation, expression and perception.

This thesis has shown that there were three main ways in which politeness rendered information about a person's identity perceptible with regard to the appearance of the body. In the first instance, in order to access polite society individuals needed to look the part and dress, style and adorn their bodies in ways that were considered appropriate for their gender, age, status and profession. It was demonstrated in chapter four, for example, that for most of the century it was considered essential for men, when appearing in public, to wear a wig upon their heads that was styled in a manner that was befitting their social status, character and occupation. In this way, politeness enabled identity information about a person to be perceived as it demanded that people displayed their bodies in ways that evidenced information about their social identity.

Secondly, polite discourses frequently attested that the extent of a person's politeness was evidenced by the physical form, shape and colour of the body. This was because certain behaviours were thought to produce distinctive physical effects. While chapter one illustrated that a fat belly was generally seen as a sign of intemperance, gluttony, drunkenness, 'idleness' and luxurious excess, chapter two showed that marks

and spots on the skin were widely perceived as evidence of sexual immorality, uncleanliness and vice. Polite conduct books also frequently appropriated elements of their discussion concerning the body's proper behaviour from popular medical advice books. This is why these two genres contained such similar explanations of the meanings of the body's shape, form and colour. Politeness thus presented the body as an important vehicle of 'self-fashioning' through which individuals could express information about their individual character.

Finally, politeness prescribed the various embodied movements, expressions and performances that should be acted out by different social actors in distinctive social settings. Amongst the embodied actions that have been examined in this research are 'looking', blushing, smiling, laughing (chapter 3), oratory, eating, using a fan, holding hands (chapter 6), standing, walking and dancing (chapter 7). Together this investigation has demonstrated that the performance of 'polite' embodied actions was judged as a measure of a person's character and was used to define people's position within elite culture. This thesis has therefore illustrated that in the first half of the eighteenth century the social meanings attached to the visible body in popular print reflected the 'polite' social values of the elite. It is argued that this was because politeness, and the social meanings attached to the body in conduct literature, were deliberately constructed in order to enable contemporaries to discern what the appearance of the body, as a social actor, revealed about a person's identity.

Nonetheless, in the second half of the eighteenth century politeness fell into gradual decline. Precisely when politeness lost its cultural resonance has been a source of debate among historians, although most contend that it happened in the second half of the century.[870] The reasons for the decline of politeness are also disputed. While some scholars argue it was caused by changing notions of masculinity and femininity, others cite the development of sensibility, romanticism, evangelism and the cultural anxieties provoked by the French Revolution. Here it is argued that the decline of politeness, in its original manifestation as an embodied behaviour mode of 'self' articulation and expression, began in the 1760s. It is proposed that politeness lost

[870] Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People*, pp. 462-467; Curtin, 'A Question of Manners', pp. 395-425; Tosh, 'Gentlemanly Politeness and Manly Simplicity in Victorian England', pp. 455-472; Morgan, *Manners, Morals and Class in England*, p. 10.

its cultural significance at this time because of the emergence of sensibility and alterations in the way the relationship between the body and identity was understood in popular thought.

In the 1760s and 1770s Britain experienced what has been referred to as a 'sentimental revolution'. This had a significant impact on contemporary manners and how individuals viewed their identity. With its emphasis on inner feeling and the cultivation of virtue, sensibility proved appealing to contemporaries, especially to the emergent middle classes, because it represented a more social 'open' means of self-expression than politeness. Indeed, unlike politeness, sensibility did not necessitate the performance of precise forms of learned embodied behaviour or demand conformity in dress and appearance. In this thesis the rise of sensibility, and how its emergence changed the relationship between the body and identity, has been illustrated in the analysis of the growing preoccupation with 'natural' emotions, sensations, expressions and morals in conduct books written after 1760. Investigation of the development of fashions for heavy makeup (chapter 3), tall and stylised wigs and hairstyles (chapter 4), and low-cut gowns that exposed the breasts (chapter 5), also demonstrated that sensibility gave contemporaries a new freedom to express their personal identity through what they wore. Consequently, in the second half of the eighteenth century personal improvement and identity formation was believed to depend on the cultivation of the mind. This ideological development forced commentators to re-think the nature of the relationship between the body and 'social' identity.

Beginning in the 1760s, physicians, philosophers and social commentators started to investigate what the substance of the body revealed about the 'nature' of man by examining observable anatomical differences between various social actors. This investigation transformed the relationship between the body and categories of social identity. Laqueur first observed this situation in *Making Sex.* He argued that over the course of the eighteenth century male and female bodies began to be considered fundamentally distinct in their corporeal form. Laqueur proposed that this shift enabled the physicality of the body to be used to define the lived experience of

gender.[871] In more recent scholarship, historians of race have identified similar changes, referring to the way that skin colour came to be presented as evidence of 'natural' racial distinction in the 1770s.[872] Yet, this thesis has revealed that it was not just the interactions between the body and identity categories such as gender and race that were altered at this time. It is argued that these alterations were part of a larger transformation involving the relationship between the body and identity.

To begin with, from the 1760s a range of 'structural' differences were identified between the bodies of various social actors in popular discourse. Indeed, each of the chapters of this thesis has revealed the assortment of ways that differences relating to gender, class, race, nationality and age were 'discovered' in discrete parts of the structure of the body during the second half of the century. While chapter two illustrated how fair skin came to be identified as a marker of elite femininity, chapters six and seven examined why dexterous hands and deformed legs were seen as evidence of working class origins. In the same way, chapter five demonstrated how visible changes in the appearance of the breasts were thought to mirror changes in the female life cycle. This evidence suggests that in the eighteenth century commentators sought to dictate aspects of individuals' lived experiences by embedding social difference in the structure of the corporeal form.

Around the mid-century, Galenic humoural medicine, which had previously been used to explain differences in the physical appearance of social actors, also fell into decline. Primarily this was caused by the development of new structural understandings of the body during the first half of the century. This was because 'fluid' conceptions of the body no longer made sense within a world where the body was understood as a collection of organs. In turn, it is argued that in the second half of the century the increasing dominance of structure based interpretations of the body provided the basis for the development of the idea that different social actors were 'structurally' distinct in embodied terms.

[871] Laqueur, *Making Sex*, p. 4.
[872] Wells, 'Confusion Embodied', p. 49; Hudson, '"Nation" to "Race"', pp. 247-264; Nussbaum, *The Limits of the Human*, p. 136; Wheeler, *The Complexions of Race*, p. 37.

The decline of humouralism also meant that contemporary commentators had to ask new questions about what the appearance of the body revealed about a person's identity and provide new explanations that accounted for the causes of physical distinctions. These explanations were diverse in their range of approaches towards the body and there was no single account of the causes of physical distinctions in the second half of the eighteenth century. As demonstrated in chapter four, for instance, whilst the idea that a person's hair colour was determined by their humoural 'complexion' declined quite quickly after 1750, commentators continued to debate whether the climate could alter a person's humoural complexion and hair colour until the nineteenth century. In chapter two, analysis of debates concerning slavery and skin colour also revealed that contemporary commentators were often selective in their interpretation of physical differences, choosing those that best suited their own purposes. Explanations of the causes of observed physical differences from the second half of the century are thus characterised by their common interest in discovering the causes of social difference in the structure of the body, but their dissent in terms of what they believed actually caused various forms of physical distinction.

Consequently, during the eighteenth century there were many changes in how the body was structurally conceptualised. Primarily this shift involved a movement away from an understanding of the body as a unified entity, to recognition that the body was comprised of a discrete, albeit interconnected, system of parts. This changing conceptualisation of the body increasingly limited the flexibility that had existed in earlier conceptions of social difference. This was because it provided the basis for the development of a new idea that different parts of the bodies of specific social actors were 'naturally' distinctive. However, it is important to note that throughout this period these ideas were open to debate and negotiation. Therefore, the eighteenth century represented a period of construction when a range of discursive commentators increasingly erected structural boundaries between the body's parts and parts of different bodies.

In conclusion, by emulating the contemporary analytical method of discursive dismemberment, this thesis has revealed many of the complex meanings and associations that were attached to the body in eighteenth-century understanding. It

has also demonstrated that the process of discursive dismemberment, and its appropriation by a range of popular authors, represented an important part of the process by which the visible body was inscribed with new meaning during this period. The approach employed in this research has therefore allowed many embodied associations attached to the body which have not been previously acknowledged or analysed by historians to be detailed. The present inquiry accordingly offers eighteenth-century scholars who are interested in the corporeal display of politeness and the construction of embodied categories of social difference, new insights into the nature of the relationship between the visible body and identity. Furthermore, it has demonstrated that discursive dismemberment represents a methodologically useful and historically reflective method of examining the body in the eighteenth century.

Appendix

This appendix provides a general summary and outline of each of the key works that are examined in this thesis. The texts described in the appendix are arranged by genre: courtesy texts, medical advice books, midwifery texts and advice guides. Further description of these book genres is provided in the 'Introduction'. The appendix also offers a brief biography of the author of each text and details about the context in which their work was produced. This information has been compiled with the assistance of the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* This evidence gives some indication of the relationships, in terms of the exchange of ideas, debates and arguments, between different books, authors and genres.

Additionally, the appendix contains information about the number of editions of individual works, and when and where they were published. It also lists, where such information is available, the print format and price of each work. This data, collated with the help of the ETSC, EBBO and ECCO, signals the relative 'popularity' of each of the texts that is examined. The defined measures of book popularity are outlined in the 'Introduction', alongside further information about the content, purpose and uses of this appendix.

Courtesy Texts

Anon., *The Advice of A Father, or, Counsel to a Child Directing Him to Demean Himself in the most Important Passages of this Life* (London: printed for the author, 1664)

This anonymously published book provided general advice for young men on modes of life, manners, behaviour, education and family life. Whilst containing some instruction on religious matters, the text was primarily preoccupied with secular concerns. It was originally printed for the author in two separate printings in 1664 and 1665. Two more editions were published 1668 and 1736. The text was also printed in 1716 under the title *Advice to a Son* (see below). 8o.

Anon., *The Whole Duty of a Woman; or A Guide to the Female Sex* (London: J. Guillim, 1701)

Published anonymously by a 'lady', *The Whole Duty of a Woman* contained instruction on behaviour, morality, and the duties of women as virgins, wives and widows. The book also provided advice on the preparation of medicine and cosmetics, surgery and cookery. It was published in eight editions between 1701 and 1735. It is not to be confused with William Kendrick's *Whole Duty of Woman* (1753), which borrowed the title of this earlier work (see below). 12o.

Anon., *Advice to a Son, Directing him how to Demean Himself in the Most Important Passages of Life,* fourth edition (London: W. Taylor, 1716)

Originally this book was published as *The Advice of a Father: or, Counsel to a Child. Directing Him how to Demean Himself in the Most Important Passages of this Life* (1664) (see above). It appears the title was changed in this 1716 edition to capitalise on the popularity of other works that used the phrase 'advice to a son' in their title. The change in title may also suggest that this edition of the text was reproduced without permission of the original author. The book provided practical advice on behaviour and modes of life. It was only published in one edition under this title. 12o.

Anon., *The Woman Triumphant: or, The Excellency of the Female Sex, Asserted in Opposition to the Male* (London: C. Stokes, 1721)

This anonymous text was apparently written by 'A Lady of Quality.' The work criticised male attitudes towards women, sought to reform male codes of conduct, and condemned negative representations of women. It presented strict rules of female conduct and emphasised the need for women to be morally virtuous. It ended with a poem dedicated to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu by Alexander Pope. The book only appeared in a single edition. 6d. 12o.

Anon., *A Letter to a Lady. In Praise of Female Learning* (Dublin: J. Jones, 1739)
Although published anonymously, it has been conjectured that this book was written by Wetenhall Wilkes. This was because it was published in Dublin, where Wilkes lived and worked, and because there are similarities between this text and another conduct book written by Wilkes called *A Letter of Genteel and Moral Advice* (see below). The final page of the dedication was also initialled W.W. The text was generally in favour of female education, seeing it as a way of instilling female virtue. It is more radical than *A Letter of Genteel and Moral Advice* because it proposed women are naturally finer and gentler than men. It was only published in a single edition. 8o.

Anon., *The Lady's Companion; or, an Infallible Guide to the Fair Sex,* 2 volumes (London: T. Read, 1740)
This book contained rules, directions and observations which guided principles of conduct and behaviour for women as virgins, wives and widows. It also contained instructions on cookery, pickling, preserving, and making cordials and other drinks. The work was commercially successful and was published in six editions between 1740 and 1753. 4o.

Anon., *The Young Lady's Companion: or, Beauty's Looking-Glass* (London: T. Read, 1740)
Apparently written by a 'Person of Quality', *The Young Lady's Companion* was supposedly a letter of advice written to a young girl by her father on the event of her mother's death. Topics discussed included religion, choice of a husband, household management, family, children, friendships, behaviour, conduct and morality. The text only appeared in one edition. 12o.

Anon., *The Lady's Preceptor, or, A Letter to A Young Lady of Distinction upon Politeness taken from the Abbé de Ancourt*, second edition (London: J. Watts, 1743)
This text purported to be a translation, by a 'Gentleman of Cambridge', from a French book apparently written by the Abbé de Ancourt. However, there is no known French original of *The Lady's Preceptor*. It provided instruction to people of 'all degrees' about how to appear 'polite' in different social settings. The book was immediately popular in Britain, appearing in a second edition in the first year of its publication. A third edition was published in London and Dublin in 1745. A revised sixth edition was published in London and New Jersey in 1762. The final edition was published in 1768. 1s. 8o.

Anon., *The Young Gentleman and Lady Instructed in Such Principles of Politeness, Prudence and Virtue*, two volumes (London: E. Wicksteed, 1747)
This book emphasised the importance of education for young men and women. It also provided instruction on manners, morals, dress, health, recreations, marriage and the

management of children and servants. It appeared in a second corrected and improved edition in 1759. 8o.

Anon., *A Letter to a Lady, Concerning the Education of Female Youth* (London: C. Bathurst, 1749)

Anonymously written by a man, *A Letter to a Lady* discussed different aspects of female education. The text is interesting as it was one of the first books that cited anatomical distinction as an explanation for the social differences between men and women. It only appeared in a single edition. 8o.

Anon., *The Lady's Present to the Fair Sex: Being an Infallible Guide for their Happy Deportment Thro' Every Stage of Life* (London: M. Read, 1755)

This anonymous text was apparently written by a 'Lady'. It contained instruction on behaviour and advocated female modesty, religiosity, meekness and compassion. It condemned vanity, affectation and pride. The book advised women on their duties as virgins, their deportment towards men, friendships and upon what was expected of them as wives, mothers and widows. A section edition was published in 1760. 8o.

Anon., *A Museum for Young Gentlemen and Ladies: or, A Private Tutor for Little Masters and Misses* (London: J. Newbury & B. Collins, 1760)

The text provided instruction and information for boys and girls on various useful subjects, including elegance and proprietary, rules for behaviour and religion. It also discussed the history and geography of the world, and listed many quotes of great men. It was extremely popular and appeared in thirteen editions between 1760 and 1795. The book was also illustrated with various woodcut prints. 1s. 18o.

Allen, Charles, *The Polite Lady; or, a Course of Female Education* (London: Newberry & Carnan, 1760)

Charles Allen was the author of several educational texts for school aged children, including *The New and Improved History of England* (1793) and *A New and Improved Roman History* (1793). *The Polite Lady* was Allen's most popular work. The text comprised of a series of fictional letters exchanged between a lady called Portia and her daughter Sophia. It follows Portia from her time at boarding school until she enters the public world of London. The letters cover a range of themes including behaviour, morality, conduct, friends and appearances. The text went through at least four editions before 1800. It was published in London, Dublin and Philadelphia. 12o.

Allestree, Richard, *The Whole Duty of Man* (London: T. Garthwait, 1657)

Richard Allestree (1621/2-1681), was a Church of England clergyman and popular moral advice author. *The Whole Duty of Man* was the first of Allestree's conduct books and provided common sense advice for young men on their religious practice and

moral conduct. Originally it was published anonymously and was only attributed to Allestree in the twentieth century. The book was immediately popular and was frequently re-published throughout the seventeenth century. In 1684 this text, along with several others written anonymously by 'the Author of the Whole Duty', were collected into a single folio which was titled *The Works of the Author of The Whole Duty of Man*. Different editions of this book were published every few years in different sized printings throughout the eighteenth century, though often under slightly different titles. Further editions were also published during the eighteenth century in London, York and Dublin. 8o.

Allestree, Richard, *The Gentleman's Calling* (London: R. Norton, 1662)
Like Allestree's other works, this text was originally published anonymously. It advocated the value of a liberal religious education and provided precise instruction on the correct modes of life. The text went through several impressions in the seventeenth century, appearing in thirteen separate editions between 1662 and 1699. During the eighteenth century it was not printed as a stand-alone text, but it did feature in *The Works of the Author of the Whole Duty of Man* (1684) (see above). 8o.

Allestree, Richard, *The Ladies Calling* (Oxford: published anon., 1673)
This extremely popular text was first published anonymously. The text provided religious instruction on how women could best conduct themselves in the public sphere. It presented a mixture of conflicting views about women, both praising and criticising them. The text has been identified as the source of several other conduct works published between 1684 and 1753, including, N.H., *The Ladies Dictionary* (1694), Anon, *The Duty of Woman,* Darell's *Gentleman Instructed*, *The Ladies Library*, Essex's *Young Ladies Conduct*, Bland's *Essay in Praise of Women*, Wilkes' *Letter of Genteel and Moral Advice* and Kendrick's *Whole Duty of a Woman*.[873] It was an immediate commercial success and went through several impressions in its first year of publication. It continued to be printed throughout the eighteenth century, appearing in a twelfth edition in 1727, and as a 'new edition' in 1787. 8o.

Bennet, John, *Letters to a Young Lady, on a Variety of Useful and Interesting Subjects*, two volumes (Warrington: W. Eyres, 1789)
John Bennet was an early Methodist and colleague of John Wesley (see below). He was also an author and curate of St. Mary's church in Manchester. *Letters to a Young Lady* presented extremely sentimental views about women, emphasising the importance of female purity and chastity, and the cultivation of moral virtue. It was a popular book and was published in four editions in London before 1793. It was also

[873] F. Childs, 'Prescriptions for Manners in Eighteenth-Century Courtesy Literature', DPhil thesis, University of Oxford (1984), p. 267.

printed in new editions in Manchester, Dublin, London, Hartford, Newburyport and New York. 12o.

Bland, James, *Essay in Praise of Women; or, A Looking Glass for Ladies to see their Perfections in* (London: printed for the author, 1733)

Not much is known about James Bland other than that he was a 'Doctor in the Physic'. The text provided instruction to women on their moral behaviour and conduct. Themes discussed included industry, temperance, education, religion and marriage. The work was published in three London editions. In 1736 another edition of the work was published under the title *The Charms of Women: or, a Mirrour for Ladies*. A new edition of the text was published in Edinburgh in 1767. 8o.

Boyer, Abel, *The English Theophrastus; or, The Manners of the Age* (London: W. Tuner, R. Basset & J. Chantry, 1702)

Abel Boyer (1667?-1729), was a Huguenot lexicographer and journalist. *The English Theophrastus* contained a social commentary on politeness, contemporary manners, conduct, characters and modes of behaviour. It was published in three editions between 1702 and 1708. 8o.

Bruys, François, *The Art of Knowing Women; or, The Female Sex Dissected* (London: printed anon., 1730)

François Bruys (1708-1738), was a French conduct author. *The Art of Knowing Women* was first published in France in 1729. It was translated into English in 1730 by John Macky. The text discussed various issues including education, religion, marriage and morality. It was published in a second edition in 1732. 4s. 4o.

Chapone, Hester, *Letters on the Improvement of the Mind*, two volumes (London: H. Hughs, 1773)

Hester Chapone (1727-1801), was a blue-stocking and an author of conduct books for women. Chapone first wrote *Letters* as a private document for her fifteen-year-old niece. The text was published anonymously in 1773. It encouraged women to engage in a rational education and contained discussion of the Bible, history, literature, book-keeping, household management, botany and astronomy. The book was dedicated the Lady Mary Wortley Montagu who corrected an early manuscript edition of the text. By 1800 the book had passed through at least sixteen editions. A further twelve editions appeared before 1829. 8o**.**

Chesterfield, Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of, *Letters Written by the late Right Honourable Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, to his Son, Philip Stanhope*, Esq., 2 volumes (London: J. Dodsley, 1774)

Lord Chesterfield (1694-1773), was a prominent English aristocrat, politician and diplomat. Chesterfield came from a long-established family with lands in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire. He was brought up by his grandmother Lady Halifax, daughter of George Savile, Lord Halifax, the author of *The Lady's New Year Gift* (1688)(see below). He was educated at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and in 1715 entered the House of Commons as a member of the Whig party. In 1727 Chesterfield took up his hereditary seat in the House of Lords. In 1728 he was sent to the Hague as an ambassador where he met Madelina Elizabeth du Bouchet who bore him an illegitimate son called Philip. *Letters to his Son* comprised of 448 letters sent by Chesterfield to Philip which were intended to educate him on how to conduct himself in polite society. Originally the letters were meant to be private, however, they were published a year after Chesterfield's death by Philip's widow Eugenia Stanhope. The book was extremely popular and by 1800 it had appeared in eleven editions. The text was also published under other titles such as *Principles of Politeness*, *and of Knowing the World* (1775), *The Fine Gentleman's Etiquette* (1776), and *Some Advices on Men and Manners* (1776). 8o.

Costeker, John Littleton, *The Fine Gentleman; or, the Compleat Education of a Young Nobleman* (London: J. Roberts, 1732)

Little is known about John Costeker except that he was the author of several miscellaneous books including *Kostiachou: or, Wit Triumphant over Beauty* (1731), *The Constant Lovers: Being an Entertaining History of the Armours and Adventures of Solenus and Perrigonia, Alexis and Sylvia* (1731), and *The Fine Gentleman*. *The Fine Gentleman* contained information about geometry, geography, history, music, dancing, fencing, riding, observations, architecture and algebra. A new edition was published in 1736. 1s. 8o.

Dare, Josiah, *Counsellor Manners his Last Legacy to his Son* (London: E. Gough, 1673)

Not much is known about Josiah Dare. *Counsellor Manners* was a miscellaneous work containing maxims on the conduct of life, manners and behaviour in public. It was intended to help men get on in life. The text proved popular and was printed in six different editions between 1673 and 1710. 1s. 8o.

Dodsley, Robert, *The Oeconomy of Human Life* (London: M. Cooper, 1751)

Robert Dodsley (1704-1764), was an English bookseller and writer. In the 1750s Dodsley was the main publisher of *belles-lettres*. Dodsley became famous after the publication of *The Oeconomy of Human Life*. This text, originally published anonymously, was said to be the work of an 'Ancient Brahmin'. It contained a

collection of moral aphorisms and a discussion the different moral duties of men and women. Commercially it was an immediate success. Before 1800 it was published in almost 200 editions and was translated into five European languages. It was the best-selling book of the eighteenth century. 2s 6d. 8o/later editions 12o.

Essex, John, *The Young Ladies Conduct; or, Rules for Education, under several heads, with Instructions on Dress* (London: J. Brotherton, 1722)

John Essex (?-1744), was a dancing master of obscure origins who made a name for himself as a professional dancer at the Dury Lane Theatre. *The Young Ladies Conduct* discussed various aspects of female education and warned women against vanity, levity and curiosity. It was only published in a single edition. 8o.

Fawconer, Samuel, *An Essay on Modern Luxury; or, An Attempt to Delineate its Nature, Causes and Effects* (London: J. Fletcher, 1765)

Samuel Fawconer was a Reverend and author. *An Essay on Modern Luxury* condemned the effects that luxury and consumerism was having on the physical health and morality of the British nation. It was only published in one edition. 8o.

Fenelon, François de Salignac, *Instructions for the Education of a Daughter* (London: J. Bowyer, 1707)

François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon (1651-1715), was a French Roman Catholic archbishop, theologian and writer. He found fame in the wake of the publication of his book *The Adventures of Telemachus* (1699), a moral adventure story that sought to illustrate the importance of personal conduct. The popularity of *The Adventures of Telemachus* contributed to the success of *Instructions for the Education of a Daughter*. This text was actually written by Fenelon before *Telemachus,* but was originally not intended for print. It first appeared in French as *Traité de l'education des Filles* in 1687. In 1707 it was translated into English by George Hickes (1642-1715).The text contained moral advice and instruction on social behaviour and conduct. It was notable for emphasising the value of a religious education for women. It enjoyed a lasting popularity throughout the period, appearing in new editions in 1715, 1721, 1750, 1753, 1797, 1805 and 1812. 12o.

Fordyce, David, *Dialogues Concerning Education* (London: printed anon., 1745)

David Fordyce (1711-1751), was a university lecturer at the University of Aberdeen. He was the second son of George Fordyce, a merchant farmer and provost of Aberdeen. He was brother to Alexander Fordyce, James Fordyce and William Fordyce. *An Essay Concerning Education* was Fordyce's first published work and was well received. It presented many 'new' Enlightened views on women, arguing that characteristic female 'vices' were not 'in-born' but created by bad up-bringing. The text drew heavily on the ideas about education presented in Locke's philosophical treatise *An Essay on*

Human Understanding (1690). It was first published anonymously in two separate volumes in 1745 and 1748, and was not attributed to the author until after his death at sea in 1751. The text had passed through four editions by 1757. 8o.

Fordyce, James, *Sermons to Young Women*, two volumes, second edition (London: A. Millar, T. Cadell, J. Dodsley & J. Payne, 1766)

James Fordyce (1720-1796), was a Scottish minister who was best known as the pastor of the Presbyterian congregation in Monkwell Street, London. He was the third son of George Fordyce and brother to David Fordyce (see above). *Sermons to Young Women* was originally written by Fordyce for his daughters. The book presented highly sentimentalised views about women emphasising the importance of cultivating moral virtue. It was extremely popular and appeared in two editions in its first year of publication. It was also published in separate editions in Philadelphia, Dublin, Edinburgh and York, and was translated into several different European languages. In 1800 a twelfth edition of the book was published in London. 8o.

Fordyce, James, *Addresses to Young Men*, two volumes (London: T. Cadell, 1777)

Address to Young Men was Fordyce's second conduct book and, although not as popular as *Sermons to Young Woman* (see above), it did enjoy some popular appeal. The text provided instruction for young men on the cultivation of refined sensibilities. In particular, it encouraged men to engage in forms of social intercourse with women. It was also published in Dublin in 1777, and Boston in 1782. 8o.

Forrester, James, *The Polite Philosopher; or, an Essay on the Art which makes a Man Happy in Himself, and Agreeable to Others* (Edinburgh: R. Freebairn, 1734)

James Forrester (1732-1750), was a Scottish author about whom not much is known. In *The Polite Philosopher* Forrester argued that men needed to have both a scholarly and social education. He promoted mixed gender socialising and argued that through polite conversation men could become more refined. The text appeared in new editions in 1736, 1738, 1746, 1751, 1757, 1760, 1773, 1776, 1780, 1783, before being published in a final 'new' edition in 1787. 6d. 8o.

Gailhard, Jean, *The Compleat Gentleman, or, Directions for the Education of Youth* (London: T. Newcomb, 1678)

Jean Gailhard (1659-1708), was a French writer and religious controversialist who criticised the Catholic church. Gailhard moved to England around 1660. The *Compleat Gentleman* was originally published in two parts in 1678, with two further parts appearing in 1682. Gailhard emphasised the importance of the development of character, manners, disposition and civility through education and travel. He also encouraged men to be socially virtuous and condemned bookishness and uncritical thought. It was published in a single edition. 8o.

Garretson, John, *The School of Manners; or, Rules for Children's Behaviour,* fourth edition (London: J. Nicholson, J. & B. Sprint, Andrew Bell & S. Burrows, 1701)

Originally this text was noted to have been written 'By the Author of the English Exercises'. Since, *The School of Manners* and *English Exercises for School-Boys to Translate into Latin* (1691) have both been attributed to the school master John Garretson. This was an old-fashioned text which provided precise and detailed advice for children about how to behave politely in public. The title page of an edition published in about 1685 survives in the British Library. However, the first complete copy of book we have is the fourth edition published in London in 1701. Later the text was plagiarised by Eleazer Moody in his book *The School of Good Manners* (1715), which was published in New London, Connecticut. This version of the book went through several new editions in New London, Boston and Dublin between 1724 and 1794. 12o.

Jacob, Giles, *Essays, Relating to the Conduct of Life* (London: E. Curll, 1717)

Giles Jacob (bap. 1686- 1744), was a legal and literary writer who was primarily known for his legal advice books. *Essays* provided advice for men about modes of life, the selection of a wife and the management of children. Jacob had quite a negative view of women and the book featured a chapter detailing their 'vices'. The text went through several editions and appeared in its third edition in 1730. 1s. 12o.

Gregory, John, *A Father's Legacy to His Daughters* (Edinburgh: W. Creech, W. Strahan & T. Cadell, 1774)

John Gregory (1724-1773), was a Scottish physician and writer. Gregory studied medicine at Edinburgh under Alexander Monro *Primus*, Andrew Sinclair and John Rutherford. He was later appointed as a professor of philosophy at King's College, Aberdeen. In the 1750s he set up practice in London, and 1756 he was elected as a Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1761, on the death of his wife, Gregory wrote *A Father's Legacy to his Daughters* which instructed his daughters on proper modes of moral conduct. It has been suggested that the text incorporated advice given to Gregory by his blue-stocking friend Elizabeth Montagu. The work was originally not meant for publication, yet was published by Gregory's son James in 1774. It contained advice on religion, moral conduct, female friendship and interactions between the sexes. Gregory advocated modesty, delicacy and elegance in all aspects of female behaviour. The text was a commercial success and was published in several new editions in London, Dublin, Glasgow and Philadelphia before 1800. The text was also reproduced in the four volume text *The Works of John Gregory* (Edinburgh, 1788). 8o.

Halifax, George Saville, Lord, *The Ladies New-Years-Gift; or, Advice to a Daughter* (London: R. Taylor, 1688)

George Saville, the first Marquis of Halifax (1633-1695), was an English statesman, writer and politician. Saville first sat in the House of Commons in 1660 and was later raised to the peerage in 1668. Saville wrote *The Lady's New-Years-Gift* as a present for his twelve-year-old daughter Elizabeth who later in life would become mother of the 4th earl of Chesterfield (1694-1773), author of *Letters to his Son* (1774) (see above). Originally the text was meant for private consumption but was later published. The book was an immediate commercial success because of the conventional and sensible advice for women it provided. Halifax was only named as the author of the text after he had died. Further editions continued to appear throughout the period. By 1765 the book had passed through fifteen editions. It was also translated into French and Italian. 12o.

Jones, Erasmus, *A Trip Through London: Containing Observations on Men and Things* (London: J. Roberts, J. Shuckburgh, J. Pote & J. Jackson, 1728)

Erasmus Jones was a popular author about whom little is known. This was an extremely popular text that described and satirised aspects of London's street life. It also mocked various 'characters' who were known around the streets of London. The text went through at least eight editions in its first year of publication. 1s. 8o.

Jones, Erasmus, *The Man of Manners; or, Plebeian Polish'd* (London: J. Roberts, 1737)

The Man of Manners was written for the benefit of the wealthy middle classes. It was designed as a guide to urban etiquette and provided instruction on walking the streets, behaviour in public places, table manners, dress, conversation and leisure. The book was published in at least three editions. 1s. 8o.

Jones, Erasmus, *Luxury, Pride and Vanity, the bane of the British nation Shewing the Prodigality and Profuseness of all Ranks, and Conditions* (London: J. Roberts, 1736)

This popular book condemned the effects that luxury and commercialism was having on the British nation. The text criticised over indulgence, excessive consumption and crime. It appeared in at least four editions in the year of its first publication. 1s. 8o.

Kames, Lord, *Hints upon Education Chiefly Concerning the Culture of the Heart* (Edinburgh: J. Bell, 1781)

Henry Home, Lord Kames (1696-1782), was a Scottish judge and writer who was a key figure in the Scottish Enlightenment. Kames originally trained as a lawyer and was admitted to the Faculty of Advocates in 1723. Kames' early written works were restricted to law, but from the 1740s he began to publish texts on philosophy and aesthetics. These books included *Essays upon Several Subjects Concerning British*

Antiquities (1747), *Essays on the Principles of Morality and Natural Religion* (1751), *Principles of Equity* (1760), *Introduction to the Art of Thinking* (1761), *Elements of Criticism* (1762), and *Sketches of the History of Man* (1774) (see beneath). *Loose Thoughts on Education* was Kames' last major work before his death. The text emphasised the need for sensibility to be cultivated through educational training. While not Kames' most popular work, the text appeared in a second edition in 1782. New editions were also published later in London and Dublin. 8o.

Kendrick, William*, The Whole Duty of Woman. By a Lady. Written at the Desire of a Noble Lord* (London: R. Baldwin, 1753)

William Kendrick (1729/30-1779), was a writer, journalist and translator. In the 1750s Kendrick became well known through his writing for the popular periodical press. Over the course of his career Kendrick became embroiled in several disputes with other well-known literary figures, such as Oliver Goldsmith, Samuel Johnson and David Garrick. Kendrick published *The Whole Duty of Woman* to capitalise financially on the success of Dodsley's *Oeconomy of Humane Life* (1753) (see above), upon which the discursive narrative form seen in *The Whole Duty* was modelled. The text, apparently written 'By a Lady', discussed various moral virtues and why they were important for women. It expounded traditional views of women and was against female education. The title of the text was taken from an earlier anonymously printed text *The Whole Duty of a Woman* (1701) (see above). The book was a commercial success, appearing in three editions within its first year of publication. It was frequently re-printed until 1800. It was also popular in America where it appeared in editions published in Concord, Connecticut, Boston and Philadelphia. 8o.

Locke, John, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (London: A. & J. Churchill, 1693)

John Locke (1632-1704), was an English philosopher and author. He devoted most of his study to medicine and natural philosophy. He was also tutor to Anthony Ashley Cooper (1671-1713), later the third earl of Shaftesbury, author of *Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times* (1711). Locke became famous in the wake of the publication of his work of moral philosophy and human knowledge, *An Essay on Human Understanding* (1690). *Some Thoughts Concerning Human Education* was chiefly made up of material taken from letters he had sent to a friend to provide him with instruction on how to bring up his children. In the text Locke advocated the value of education and self-regulation. He also argued that the experiences of childhood were an important part of 'self' formation. The text, first published anonymously, was immediately popular and was published in two editions within its first year of publication. A revised edition with Locke's name was then published in 1695. Further new editions were published in London in 1699, 1709, 1725, 1732, 1737, 1745, 1752 and 1800. 8o.

Mandeville, Bernard, *The Virgin Un-Mask'd* (London: J. Woodward, 1709)
Bernard Mandeville (bap. 1670-1733), was a physician, political philosopher and social commentator. Mandeville was born in Rotterdam in the Netherlands. He originally trained as a doctor at the University of Leiden where he became a specialist on the nervous diseases hypochondria and hysteria. In the early 1690s Mandeville moved to London where he set himself up in medical practice. He started his writing career at the turn of the century. *The Virgin Unmask'd* comprised of a series of fictional letters exchanged between 'an elderly maiden aunt' called Lucinda, and her young niece Antonia. The text dealt with various issues including dress, marriage and the harmful effects of childbearing. In 1714 the text appeared again under the title *The Mysteries of Virginity; or, a Full Discovery of the Difference between Young Maides and Old Ones*. New editions of the text were published under the original title in 1724, 1731, 1742 and 1757. 8o.

Nivelon, François, *The Rudiments of Genteel Behaviour* (London: printed anon., 1737)
François Nivelon was a French dancer. Little is known about his life other than that he was employed to perform serious French dances, acrobatics and pantomime at Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre, and later Covent Garden Theatre in the first half of the century. *Rudiments of Genteel Behaviour* was Nivelon's only published work and provided precise advice on acting out movements such as standing, walking, giving and receiving, and dancing. The text also contained many engravings by L. P. Boitard illustrating how various actions should be performed. It only appeared in a single edition. 4o.

Pennington, Sarah, Lady, *An Unfortunate Mother's Advice to her Absent Daughters, second edition* (London: S. Chandler, 1761)
Lady Sarah Pennington (d. 1782), was writer of whom little bibliographical information is known. In *An Unfortunate Mother's Advice* Pennington explains she has written the text for her female children to whom she has been denied access because she has been accused of adultery. Pennington offers her daughters advice on religion, modesty and, unsurprisingly, the importance of making a good marriage. The text featured a long list of recommended reading which included books by Locke, Pope, Addison and Steele. It appeared in three editions in its first year of publication, and had been published in a fifth edition by 1770. Three more editions appeared in 1773, 1784 and 1789. In 1787 the book was translated into French. 1s 6.d. 8o.

Petrie, Adam, *Rules of Good Deportment, or of Good Breeding. For the Use of Youth* (Edinburgh: publisher unknown, 1720)
Adam Petrie was a Scottish minister who was described by nineteenth-century commentators as 'the Scottish Chesterfield.' *Rules of Good Deportment* detailed rules

and standards of 'polite' personal behaviour. Particular sections of the book were devoted to clothing, walking, visiting, speech, writing, eating and drinking, marriage, recreations, behaviour in church and commerce. In the nineteenth century it appeared in *The Works of Adam Petrie: The Scottish Chesterfield* (Edinburgh; Syme and Son, 1877). 1s. 8o.

Philpot, Stephen, *An Essay on the Advantage of a Polite Education joined with a Learned One* (London: printed for the author, 1747)

Philpot was a dancing master about whom little is known. The text was written as a long essay. It provided observations on various aspects of a child's education. Its content drew heavily upon other works, such as Addison and Steele's journal *The Spectator* and John Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. The most original part of the text is 'A Dissertation on the Regulation of the Art of Dancing'. Only one edition was printed. 8o.

Polwhele, Richard, Rev., *Discourses on Different Subjects*, two volumes (London: T. Caddell & C. Dilly, 1791)

Richard Polwhele (1760-1838), was an Anglican clergyman and author. He was a well-known conservative commentator and critic of Mary Wollstonecraft (see below). *Discourses on Different Subjects* was a religious and sentimental text that expounded traditional and conservative views about women. It emphasised that women were 'naturally' delicate and timid. It was produced in a second edition in the first year of its publication. 8o.

Todd, James, *The School-Boy and Young Gentleman's Assistant* (Edinburgh: printed anon, 1748)

Little is known about the author of *The School-Body and Young Gentleman's Assistant* except that he possessed a Batchelor's Degree in Divinity. The book provided advice on health, manners and religion. It also discussed writing, speaking, languages, philosophy, history, preaching, sermons and exercise. It was only published in a single edition. 12o.

Towle, Matthew, *The Young Gentleman's and Lady's Private Tutor* (London: printed for the author, 1770)

Matthew Towle was a dancing master and author who worked in in Oxford. The text was primarily concerned with aspects of external deportment in different social settings, but it also provided some discussion of moral maxims. It contained several illustrations showing the proper performance of various embodied actions. The book was only printed in one edition. 12o.

Wilkes, Wetenhall, *A Letter of Genteel and Moral Advice to a Young Lady* (London: M. Cooper, 1744)

Wetenhall Wilkes (1705/6-1751), was an Irish poet and commercial author. In 1740 Wilkes published *A Letter of Genteel and Moral Advice* by subscription in Dublin. The text was originally written for his sixteen-year-old niece. It presented a mixture of new and old views about women, both praising and chastising their 'nature'. *The Spectator* was the most frequent source referred to in the text. It also referenced the works of Newton, Locke and Harvey. The book discussed aspects of behaviour and conduct, and generally had a strong religious emphasis. The first London edition was published in 1744. In 1766 the book appeared in its final enlarged eighth edition. 2s. 8o.

Wollstonecraft, Mary, *Thoughts on the Education of Daughters* (London: J. Johnson, 1787)

Mary Wollstonecraft, later Godwin, (1759-1797), was an author and early advocate of women's rights. She was born into a family of modest wealth but was forced to support herself from the age of 18 because of problematic family circumstances. She did this by working as a lady's companion, needle-worker and governess. *Thoughts on the Education of Daughters* was a stern didactic text which provided maxims on morals, manners, dress, love, marriage, child-rearing, education, leisure activities and behaviour in social settings. In writing the text Wollstonecraft was influenced by Hester Chapone's *Letters on the Improvement of the Mind* (1773) (see above). *Thoughts* enjoyed moderate commercial success and was reprinted in Dublin a year after its initial publication. Extracts were also published in the *Ladies Magazine*. 8o.

Wollstonecraft, Mary, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (London: J. Johnson, 1792)

A Vindication of the Rights of Woman is generally regarded as one of the earliest works of feminist philosophy. In the book Wollstonecraft responds to theorists who denied that women should receive an education. She argued that as human beings women deserved the same fundamental rights as men. Wollstonecraft was especially critical of conduct book writers such as James Fordyce and John Gregory (see above), who proposed that women did not need a rational education. The work was received favourably and went into a second edition in its first year of publication. It also appeared in a separate Dublin issue in the same year. 8o.

Medical Advice Books

Anon., *The Family Guide to Health; or, a Practice of the Physic; in a Familiar Way* (London: J. Fletcher, 1767)

This anonymously authored text contained advice on the maintenance of health taken from the works of a range of ancient and contemporary physicians and surgeons. The book was only published in a single edition. 8o.

Andry, Nicholas, *Orthopædia*: *or the Art of Correcting and Preventing Deformities in Children,* 2 Volumes (London: A. Millar, 1743)

Nicholas Andry de Bois-Regard (1658-1742), was a French physician and writer who played an early significant role in the history of orthopaedics. *Orthopaedia* provided practical, common sense advice to parents on how to educate their children and make sure their bodies remained free from deformity. The work was divided into four parts. The first book described the anatomy of the whole body and its various proportions, books two and three went on to discuss deformities of the spine and limbs, and book four examined deformities of head and face. The text also featured several elaborately engraved plates. It was first published in Paris as *L'Orthopédia ou l'art de Prévenir et Corriger dans les Enfants les Difformités du Corps* (1741). It was an immediate success and was soon published abroad in Brussels (1742), London (1743), and Berlin (1744). Excerpts from the text also found wider exchange when they were reproduced by Denis Diderot in his *Encyclopaedia* (1751-72) and William Smellie in his *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1768-1771). It was also extensively plagiarised in *The Art of Beauty* (1760) and *The Art of Preserving Beauty* (1789) (see beneath). 12o.

Arbuthnot, John, *An Essay Concerning the Nature of Aliments, and the Choice of Them* (London: J. Tonson, 1731)

John Arbuthnot (bap. 1667-1735), was a Scottish physician and satirist. He graduated M.D. from St Andrews in 1692. At the turn of the century Arbuthnot started writing political satires and became a member of the 'Scriblerus Club' along with Jonathan Swift, Alexander Pope, Thomas Parnell and John Gay. *An Essay Concerning the Nature of Aliments* was Arbuthnot's first medical publication. It provided readers with anatomical information about the body and the digestion of food. The text was popular and appeared in further editions in 1732, 1736, 1751 and 1756. It was also published in German in 1744 and in French in 1755. 8o.

Arbuthnot, John, *An Essay Concerning the Effects of Air on Human Bodies* (London: J. Tonson, 1733)

An Essay Concerning the Effects of Air was Arbuthnot's second medical publication. It detailed the effects of the air on the health of the body. It was intended to be the second in a series of six books which each dealt with one of the 'non-naturals'.

Arbuthnot failed to complete any of these other intended works. The text was received favourably and appeared in new editions in 1751, 1756 and 1851. It was also issued in French in 1742 and Latin in 1753. 8o.

Beddoes, Thomas, *A Guide for Self Preservation, and Parental Affection* (Bristol: Bulgin & Rosser, 1790)

Thomas Beddoes (1760-1808), was an English chemist and physician. He graduated B.A. from Pembroke College, Oxford, in 1778. After this he moved to work under John Sheldon, a former pupil of William Hunter, at the Great Windmill Street of Anatomy in London. In 1784 he moved to Edinburgh to study medicine, where he attended lectures by William Cullen and Joseph Black. In 1786 he returned to Oxford to take his M.D. *A Guide for Self Preservation* was an essay which discussed the causes of childhood mortality. It argued social disorder, snobbery, drunkenness, and bad education were the primarily causes of disease. The text was reissued in 1793 and 1794. 3d. 12o.

Beddoes, Thomas, *Essay on the Causes, Early Signs, and Prevention of Pulmonary Consumption for the Use of Parents and Preceptors* (London: Longman, Rees & W. Sheppard, 1799)

This text discussed the incident and causes of pulmonary consumption. It compared the incidence of tuberculosis among people of different occupations, and those who lived in different parts of the country. The book appeared in two editions in 1799. The second edition of the text was significantly enlarged. 6s. 8o.

Buchan, William, *Domestic Medicine* (Edinburgh: J. Balfour, J. Auld and W. Smellie, 1769)

William Buchan (1729-1805), was a Scottish physician and author. He was educated at the University of Edinburgh, where he studied botany, astronomy, mathematics and medicine. In 1758 he left Edinburgh for Yorkshire where he was appointed medical officer to a branch of the Foundling Hospital. *Domestic Medicine* provided professional medical advice on modes of maintaining health and healthy living. It also contained advice about how a range of diseases and illnesses could be cured. The text was revolutionary as it attested that medical knowledge should be made more easily accessible to the public. Due to the sound practical advice it provided, the text was an immediate commercial success. Between 1749 and 1871 it is estimated that around 142 separate English-language editions of the book were issued. The text was also translated into French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, German, Russian and Swedish. 6s. 8o.

Burton, John, *Treatise on the Non-Naturals, and their Influence on Human Bodies* (York: A. Staples, 1738)

John Burton (1710-1771), was an English physician and antiquary. Burton was educated at St John's College, Cambridge. His first medical articles were published by the Edinburgh Philosophical Society in 1734 and 1736. *Treatise on the Non-Naturals* was printed at York where Burton practised as a physician. It was divided into several sections that each discussed modes of life with regard to one of the six non-naturals: air, diet, exercise, rest, excreta and passions. The book was only issued in a single edition. 8o.

Cadogan, William, *A Dissertation on the Gout and on All Chronic Diseases* (London: J. Dodsley, 1771)

William Cadogan (1711-1797), was a physician and midwifery author (see below). *A Dissertation on the Gout* proposed that gout was caused by intemperance. To cure gout Cadogan advised that people should observe a spare diet and engage in exercise. He challenged earlier views that gout was a hereditary disease. The work was extremely popular and passed through eleven editions in two years. 8o.

Cheyne, George, *An Essay on the Gout, With an Account of the Nature and Quality of the Bath Waters,* second edition (London: G. Strahan, 1720)

George Cheyne (1671/2-1743), was a Scottish physician and author. He was educated in Marischal College, Aberdeen, and also attended lectures in Edinburgh. *An Essay on the Gout* provided practical dietary advice for sufferers of gout. The text was extremely popular and established Cheyne's reputation as a physician and author. It appeared in a new edition in 1721. Revised and enlarged editions of the text were re-issued in 1722, 1726, 1737 and 1738. 8o.

Cheyne, George*, An Essay of Health and Long Life* (London: G. Strahan, 1724)

An Essay of Health and Long Life was Cheyne's second book. The text discussed the influence of the six non-naturals on health, with a particular focus on diet and the 'passions'. Chyene presented health maintenance as the moral responsibility of the individual. He promoted temperance and moderation in consumption, and the adherence to a 'cool regimen'. The book was an immediate success and was published in seven editions in its first year of publication. Further editions of the book were issued in 1734, 1745 and 1749. 8o.

Cheyne, George, *The English Malady* (London: G. Strahan, 1733)

The English Malady was a treatise on melancholy and nervous diseases. Cheyne attested that elite diseases such as hypochondria and hysteria were produced by luxury and self-indulgence. The work was appended with Cheyne's personal account of his own weight related health problems which was titled 'Case of the Author.' The text

was well received and was issued in three editions in the first year of its publication. 8o.

Cook, John, *An Anatomical and Mechanical Essay on the Whole Animal Oeconomy, two volumes* (London: W. Meadows, 1730)

John Cook was a doctor and medical author. He studied at the University of Edinburgh and gained his medical degree from the University of St. Andrews in 1732. The first volume of *An Anatomical and Mechanical Essay* provided a description of each of the different internal and external parts of the body, and outlined their different uses. The second volume provided a description of the different fluids in the body and the way they circulated around it. A second edition of the book was published in its first year of publication. 8o.

Desault, Pierre-Joseph, *A Treatise on the Venereal Distemper* (London: J. Clarke, 1738)

Pierre-Joseph Desault (1738-1795), was a French anatomist and surgeon. In his early years Desault was apprenticed to the military hospital of Belfort where he learnt about anatomy and military surgery. In 1766 he moved to Paris and opened up a school of anatomy. He was admitted as a member of the Corps of Surgeons in 1776. Desault's Dissertation*, Sur Les Maladies Veneriennes* (1738), was translated into English by John Andree (1697/8-1785). The text was divided in two parts. Part one examined theories concerning the origins of venereal disease, while the second part suggested possible curatives. It was only published in a single English edition. 8o.

Flemyng, Malcolm, *A Discourse on the Nature, Causes, and Cure of Corpulency* (London: L. Davis & C. Reymers, 1760)

Malcolm Flemyng (c. 1700-1764), was a Scottish physiologist, lecturer and author. He studied under Alexander Monro Primus at the University of Edinburgh, and Hermann Boerhaave at the University of Leiden. During his career he practised in Hull, London and Lincolnshire. *A Discourse Concerning the Nature, Causes and Cure of Corpulency* began its life as a speech delivered at the Royal Society in 1757. In the text Flemyng argued that obesity was a disease caused by luxurious consumption and the defective evacuation of oil and fat from the body. It was only published in one edition. 1s. 8o.

Gowland, John, *An Essay on Cutaneous Diseases, and all Impurities of the Skin* (London: Mr Johnson & Mr Murray, 1792)

John Gowland (d. 1776), was an apothecary and inventor of Gowland's Lotion, a cosmetic wash for the face and hands that was extremely popular at the end of the century. *An Essay on Cutaneous Diseases* was a short text written to explain the causes of skin disease and to advertise the uses of Gowland's Lotion. 1s. 8o.

Grosvenor, Benjamin, *Health. An Essay on its Nature, Value, Uncertainty, Preservation and Best Improvement* (London: W. Bowyer, 1716)

Benjamin Grosvenor (1676-1758), was a Presbyterian minister and author. *Health* discussed the religious value of health and how to acquire it. It was re-printed in new editions in 1748 and 1761. 12o.

Gibson, Thomas, *The Anatomy of Humane Bodies Epitomized*, sixth edition (London: T. W. Awnsham & J. Churchill, 1703)

Thomas Gibson (1648/9-1722), was an English physician. He studied at St John's College, Cambridge, and the University of Leiden. In 1676 he was admitted to the Royal College of Physicians. *The Anatomy of Human Bodies* was published in 1682. The text described the structure and uses of the different parts of the body. The text drew heavily on Alexander Read's *Manuall of the Anatomy* (1634) (see below). It was published in eight editions between 1684 and 1703. 8o.

James, Robert, *A Medicinal Dictionary; Including Physic, Surgery, Anatomy, Chymistry, and Botany,* 3 volumes (London: T. Osborne, 1743-45)

Robert James (bap. 1703-1776), was a physician and author. He graduated B.A. from St John's College, Oxford, in 1726. He was awarded his M.D. by the University of Cambridge in 1728. After practising in Sheffield and Birmingham, he settled in London where he established a fashionable medical practice. Later in life James invented James's Fever Powder, which the physician William Hawes blamed for causing the death of Oliver Goldsmith in 1774. *A Medicinal Dictionary* was published in 1743. The work drew upon a range of sources. James's life-long friend Samuel Johnson supplied some material for the text. Later James supplied some medical definitions for Johnson's *Dictionary* (1755). Originally the text was published in weekly numbers. It featured some illustrations. It was only published in a single edition. 2o.

Lynch, Bernard, *Guide to Health, Through the Various Stages in Life* (London: printed for the author, 1744)

Bernard Lynch was a qualified doctor and medical author. *Guide to Health* was a practical advice book which examined the physical effects of ageing, the influence of the six non-naturals on the body, and the nature of diseases. The funds to publish the book were raised through subscription. A second edition of the text was published in 1752 by M. Cooper. 8o.

Mackenzie, James, *The History of Health, and the Art of Preserving it* (Edinburgh: W. Gordon, 1758)

James Mackenzie (1682?-1761), was a Scottish physician. He studied medicine at the University of Edinburgh and University of Leiden. He graduated M.D. from King's College, Aberdeen, in 1719. Mackenzie was elected as an honorary fellow of the Royal

College of Physicians in Edinburgh in 1755. He spent most of his career practising medicine in Worcester where he became friends with Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. *The History of Health* was divided into two parts. The first examined the diet of man before the fall and in different historical epochs before the modern era. The second looked at the influence of individual temperament and age upon health. The text also provided some general rules for the maintenance of health and advocated the cool regimen. The work was popular and appeared in new editions in 1759 and 1760. The third edition included an essay on smallpox inoculation. There were two French editions of the book. 8o.

Marten, John, *A Treatise on all the Degrees and Symptoms of the Venereal Disease*, fifth edition (London: N. Crouch, J. Knapton, W. Hawes, P. Varenne, C. King, & J. Isted, D. Leach, 1707)

John Marten (d. 1737), was a surgeon and author. He was admitted as a member of the Company of Barber-Surgeons in 1692. His *Treatise on the Venereal Disease* was presumably written in the late seventeenth century. Nine copies of the sixth edition of 1708 survive, and six copies of the seventh edition of 1711 are known. The work discussed the causes of venereal disease, its effects and the usefulness of various curatives. 8o.

Moffet, Thomas, *Health's Improvement; or, Rules Comprising and Discovering the Nature, Method and Manner or Preparing all Sort of Food Used in this Nation. Corrected and Enlarged by Christopher Bennet* (London: T. Newcomb, 1655)

Thomas Moffet (1553-1604), was an English physician and naturalist. Moffet was educated in Basel and Trinity College, Cambridge. *Health's Improvement* was published posthumously and was edited by Christopher Bennet. It provided advice on the diet and detailed the nutritional values of various foods and drinks. The text was reprinted in 1746. 12o.

Quincy, John, *Lexicon Physico-Medicum; or, A New Medicinal Dictionary*, second edition (London: E. Bell, W. Taylor, J. Obsorn, 1719)

John Quincy (d. 1722), was an apothecary and physician. *Lexicon Physio-Medicum* was a dictionary that explained the meanings of different medical and scientific terms and phrases. The book was published in eleven editions. Two final revised editions were published in 1794 and 1811. 8o.

Ramazzini, Bernadino, *A Treatise on the Diseases of Tradesmen, Shewing the Various Influence of Particular Trades Upon the State of Health* (London: A. Bell, R. Smith, D. Midwinter, W. Hawes, W. Davis, G. Stranghan, B. Lintot, J. Round & J. Wale, 1705)

Bernardino Ramazzini (1633-1714), was an Italian physician. He studied medicine at the University of Parma. *A Treatise on the Diseases of Tradesmen* was first published in

Moderna as *De Morbis Artificum Diatriba* (1700). The text detailed the diseases that affected people of 52 different professions. It was the first book ever published on the subject of occupational disease. The book was first published in English in 1705. It appeared in only a single edition. 8o.

Read, Alexander, *The Manuall of the Anatomy of the Body of Man* (London: E. Bush, 1634)

Alexander Read (c. 1570-1641), was a Scottish anatomist and surgeon. Read was educated at King's College, Aberdeen, and graduated around 1600. In 1621 he was admitted to the College of Physicians. Written in English, *The Manuall of the Anatomy* provided practical explanations of the body's parts for student anatomists. The text proved popular and appeared in new editions in 1638, 1642, 1650, 1655 and 1665. From the 1638 edition onwards the book title was changed to *The Manuall of the Anatomy or Dissection of the Body of Man*. It was also plagiarised by Thomas Gibson in *The Anatomy of Humane Bodies Epistomised* (see above). 12o.

Shaw, Peter, *A New Practice of the Physic,* two volumes (London: J. Osborne & T. Longman, 1726)

Peter Shaw (1694-1763), was a physician and author. Nothing is known of his medical education. *New Practice of Physic* consisted of a catalogue of diseases. It detailed diagnostic signs and appropriate curatives for various illnesses. The book proved popular and was issued in new editions in 1728, 1730, 1738, 1745 and 1753. 8o.

Short, Thomas, *Discourse Concerning the Causes and Effects of Corpulency* (London: J. Roberts, 1727)

Thomas Short (c. 1690-1772), was a Scottish physician. *A Discourse Concerning the Causes and Effects of Corpulency* detailed the causes of obesity and how it could be cured. The text was one of the first to identify obesity as a 'disease'. It appeared in a further edition in 1728. 8o.

Smith, Hugh, *The Family Physician: Being a Collection of Useful Family Remedies* (London: printed anon., 1761)

Hugh Smith (1735/6-1789), was a physician. He graduated M.D. at Leiden in 1755 and later practised in London. He was the author of several titles including *The Family Physician* (1760), and *Letters to Married* Women (1767) (see above). *The Family Physician* discussed various common diseases and provided advice on how they could be cured. Further editions were published in 1770, 1772 and 1774. 1s. 4o.

Strother, Edward, *The Family Companion for Health* (London: F. Fayram, 1729)

Edward Strother (1675-1737), was a physician. In 1720 he graduated M.D. from the University of Utrecht. He was admitted as licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians

in 1721. *The Family Companion* discussed the effects of the six non-naturals on health. The text had appeared in a third edition by 1750. 8o.

Tissot, Samuel-Auguste David, *Advice to the People in General, with Regard to their Health* (London: T. Becket & P. A. de Hondt, 1765)

Samuel Tissot (1728-1797), was a Swiss physician. *Advice to the People in General*, first published in French as *Avis au Peuple sur sa Sante* (1761), was Tissot's most popular publication. It discussed the causes of various diseases and offered advice about how they could be cured. It appeared in further English editions in 1766, 1768, 1769, 1771, 1772 and 1778. 8o.

Tissot, Samuel-Auguste David, *Onanism: or, a Treatise upon the Disorders Produced by Masturbation* (London: J. Pridde, 1766)

Onanism was first published in France as *L'Onanisme* in 1760. The text examined the dangers of masturbation to health. The discussion was accompanied with empirical evidence from case studies. It appeared in a second edition in 1781 and was widely discussed in other texts from the period. 12o.

T. Tryon, *The Way to Health, Long Life and Happiness, or a Discourse of Temperance* (London: A. Sowle, 1683)

Thomas Tryon (1634-1703), was an author and early advocate of vegetarianism. He published texts on a range of medical and religious topics. *The Way to Health*, first published as *Health's Grand Preservative* (1682), was Tryon's most popular text. It advocated temperance and recommended what foods and drinks were best for the maintenance of health. Further editions were published in 1691 and 1697. 8o.

Turner, Daniel, *De Morbis Cutaneis.* A *Treatise of Diseases Incident to the Skin* (London: R. Bonwicke, W. Freeman, T. Goodwin, J. Walthoe, M. Wotton, S. Menship, J. Nicholson, R. Parker, B. Jooke & R. Smith, 1714)

Daniel Turner (1667-1741), was a surgeon and physician. In 1691 Turner was admitted into the Barber-Surgeons Company of London. During his apprenticeship, under the surgeon Thomas Lichfield, he was able to assist in private human dissections. In 1711 was admitted to the Royal College of Physicians. *Treatise of Diseases Incident to the Skin* was the first book in English on the subject of the skin. The text featured an anatomical description of the skin and discussion of some empirical case studies. It also contained a lengthy analysis of the effects of the maternal imagination. Further editions were published in 1723, 1726, 1731 and 1736. 8o.

Turner, Daniel, *Syphilis: A Practical Dissertation on the Venereal Disease* (London: R. Bronwicke, T. Goodwin, J. Walthoe, M. Wotton, S. Manship, R. Wilkin, B. Tooke, R. Smith, T. Ward, 1724)

Published a few years after *De Morbis Cutaneis*, *Syphilis; A Practical Dissertation on the Venereal Disease* was divided into two parts. The first investigated the causes of syphilis, and the first stage of the infection, while the second book looked at later diagnostic signs and various curatives. The text was published in new editions in 1724, 1727, 1732 and 1737. 8o.

Midwifery Texts

Anon., *Aristotle's Masterpiece* (London: J. How, 1684)

While claiming to be written by Aristotle, the authorship of this text is actually unknown. It is likely that the book was written by several authors.[874] The text was a sex manual and midwifery book. Three distinct versions of the book survive. The first version of the text, which appeared in 1684, provided an account of sex, generation, pregnancy, labour and infant care. It emphasised that men and women both needed to orgasm in order to conceive. A second enlarged version of the text was published in 1697. The third version of the book, published in 1710, was radically different from the previous two editions, although some of the content was derived from the earlier works. This edition included a section on physiognomy and a chapter titled 'The Family Physician', comprising of recipes for medicines. The third version of *Aristotle's Masterpiece* was issued in more than twenty editions. The book was also published in many further editions under the title *Aristotle's Compleat Masterpiece.* It was also included alongside the other 'Aristotle' works, such as *Aristotle's Book of Problems* (see below), as part of *The Compleat Works of Aristotle*. 12o.

Anon., *The Nurse's Guide; or, the Right Method of Bringing up Young Children* (London: J. Brotherton, 1729)

The author of this text was described as an 'Eminent Physician.' The text was concerned with all aspects of the welfare of infants. It also outlined the qualities that a wet-nurse should possess. Added to the text was a discussion of the best regimen for old people an account of the causes and cures of gout. This text appeared again in 1733 when it was published as *The Art of Nursing; or, the Right Method of Bringing up Young Children.* 8o.

Bracken, Henry, *The Midwife's Companion; or, A Treatise of Midwifery* (London: J. Clarke & J. Shuckburgh, 1737)

Henry Bracken (bap. 1697-1764), was an English medical author. He studied at the Hôtel Dieu in Paris, and at the University of Leiden. After this Bracken established himself as a physician, surgeon and man-midwife in Lancaster, and became well-known as the author of several best-selling books on farriery. He was a prominent member of the community and held various public offices. *The Midwife's Companion* contained advice on pregnancy, child birth and breast feeding. Bracken was against the use of forceps. The book featured some old-fashioned ideas about birthmarks and childhood deformities. It was published again in 1751. 2s 6d. 12o.

[874] Fissell, 'Making a Masterpiece', p. 44.

Buchan, William, *Advice to Mothers on the Subject of their Own Health, and on the Means of Promoting the Health, Strength and Beauty of Their Offspring* (London: T. Cadell & W. Davis, 1803)

William Buchan was physician and medical advice author (see above). *Advice to Mothers* provided advice on how mothers could raise strong, healthy children. The text emphasised the ways that mothers could influence the character of their children and instil them with virtue. A second edition was published in 1811. 5s 6d. 8o.

Burton, John, *An Essay Towards A Complete New System of Midwifry, Theoretical and Practical* (London: J. Hodges, 1751)

John Burton was a physician and medical author (see above). This text discussed the anatomy of the body, and normal and difficult births. The advice it provided was based on Burton's own personal observations. It seems to have been aimed at professional male practitioners. The text also contained numerous detailed engravings which would have made it expensive to purchase. It was only issued in a single edition. 8o.

Cadogan, William, *An Essay upon Nursing, and the Management of Children, From their Birth to Three Years of Age* (London: J. Roberts, 1748)

William Cadogan (1711-1797), was a physician. He was granted his M.D. degree at Leiden in 1737. In 1747 he was elected as the physician to the Royal Infirmary in Bristol. In 1753 he was elected as a governor to the Foundling Hospital. *An Essay upon Nursing* was a short text that argued that it was essential that infants were breastfed as soon as possible after birth. It was issued in more than ten editions in 25 years. 6d. 8o.

Counsell, George, *The Art of Midwifry* (London: C. Bathurst, 1751)

George Counsell was a surgeon and man-midwife. *The Art of Midwifry* provided straightforward advice to female midwives. Counsell was against the use of instruments in birth. He also encouraged women to call upon male surgeons in difficult labours. The text featured two illustrations of the female pelvis. The text was published again under the title of *The New London Art of Midwifery* in 1758. 3s 6d. 8o.

Culpeper, Nicholas*, A Directory for Midwives: or, a guide for Women, in their Conception, Bearing, and Suckling their Children,* newly corrected (London: J. & A. Churchill, 1701)

Nicholas Culpeper (1616-1654), was a physician, apothecary and astrologer. *Directory for Midwives* discussed reproductive anatomy, theories of generation and miscarriage, and postpartum and postnatal care. It argued that it was essential for midwives to have good knowledge of the sexual anatomy. The text also featured a lengthy discussion on the qualities a good wet-nurse should possess. It was published in four

editions before 1700. Further imprints were issued in 1701, 1708, 1716, 1751 and 1762. 8o.

Dawkes, Thomas*, The Midwife Rightly Instructed* (London: J. Oswald, 1736)
Thomas Dawkes was a surgeon and midwife. *The Midwife Rightly Instructed* was written as a dialogue between a male surgeon and female midwife. It contained a lengthy discussion about the appropriate roles of male and female midwives during births. Large portions of the text were derived from Deventer's *The Art of Midwifery* (1716) (see below). It was also mentioned in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* under the article on midwifery. It was re-published under the title *The Nurse's Guide* in 1744. 8o.

Deventer, Henrick van, *The Art of Midwifery Improved* (London: E. Curll, J. Pemberton & W. Taylor, 1716)
Henrick van Deventer (1651-1724), was a Dutch man-midwife and author. *The Art of Midwifery* was first published in French 1701. It was aimed at male and female midwives, and contained a lengthy discussion on the use of instruments in difficult births. The text also contained one of the first accounts of the size and shape of the female pelvis. The work was heavily plagiarised and drawn upon by John Maubray, Brudenell Exton and Thomas Dawkes. It was re-published in 1723, 1728 and 1746. The same text was also published in 1724 and 1728 under the title *New Improvements in the Art of Midwifery*. 8o.

Dionis, Pierre, *A General Treatise of Midwifery. Faithfully translated from the French* (London: A. Bell, J. Darby, A. Bettesworth. J. Pemberton, C. Rivington, J. Hooke, R. Cruttenden, T. Cox, F. Clay, J. Battley & E. Symon, 1719)
Pierre Dionis (1643-1718), was a French surgeon and author. As a demonstrator of anatomy and surgery at Jardin du Roi he was known for promoting William Harvey's theory of the circulation of the blood. In 1680 he was appointed as the physician and surgeon to Queen Maria Theresa of Austria. He was later the physician to Louis XIV. *A General Treatise on Midwifery* was anonymously translated into English in 1719. The text discussed all aspects of the female anatomy and birth. Dionis promoted surgical involvement in difficult births. The work was only published in one English edition. 8o.

Exton, Brudenell, *A New and General System of Midwifery* (London: W. Owen, 1751)
Brudenell Exton (bap. 1685-1759), was an English man-midwife and author. He also served as man-midwife to the Middlesex hospital. *A New and General System of Midwifery* advocated male and female involvement in the midwifery profession. It also advocated the use of instruments in difficult births. New editions of the text were printed in 1752, 1766, 1771 and 1773. 8o.

Grigg, John, *Advice to the Female Sex in General* (Bath & London: S. Hazard & J. & J. Robinson, 1789)

John Grigg was a surgeon and author. *Advice to the Female Sex* was addressed to women who were pregnant, and male and female midwives. Part one discussed different aspects of women's health from birth to menopause, while part two looked at procreation and pregnancy. The book had a positive view of women and childbirth, and tried to provide women with anatomical information about their bodies. The book was also printed in Germany. 3s. 6d. 8o.

Manning, Henry, *A Treatise on Female Diseases* (London: R. Baldwin, 1771)

Henry Manning was a doctor and author. *A Treatise on Female Diseases* discussed menstruation, the diseases of pregnant women, hysteria and breast cancer. The book was re-published in 1775. 5s 6d. 8o.

Maubray, John*, The Female Physician, containing all the Diseases incident to that Sex in Virgins, Wives, and Widows* (London: J. Holland, 1724)

John Maubray (d. 1732), was a man-midwife and author. *The Female Physician* was a large book which discussed the signs and symptoms of a range of female diseases, childbirth, postnatal and postpartum care, and abnormal births. Maubrary was against the use of surgical tools in birth. He argued that men made better midwives than women as they had better knowledge of anatomy. The text was re-printed in 1730. 8o.

Mauriceau, François, *The Diseases of Women with Child, and in Child-Bed*, translated by Hugh Camberlen, second edition (London: J. Darby, 1672)

Francois Mauriceau (1637-1709), was a leading French obstetrician. He trained at the Hôtel-Dieu in Paris. He published *The Diseases of Women* in 1668. The text was first translated into English by Hugh Camberlen (1632-1720), an English man-midwife famed for the invention of the forceps. The book was divided into three sections. The first discussed female reproductive anatomy, fertility and sterility. The second part dealt with natural and unnatural births. The last section detailed common diseases that affected women and infants, and proper nursing practices. Mauriceau was the first medical commentator to observe the differences between the male and female pelvis. The text was re-printed in 1710, 1716, 1718, 1727, 1736, 1752 and 1755. It was also translated into German, Dutch, Italian, Latin and Flemish. 8o.

Memis, John, *The Midwife's Pocket-Companion: Or a Practical Treatise of Midwifery* (London: E. & C. Dilly, 1765)

John Memis (1721-91), was a Scottish man-midwife. He began his studies at Marischal College, Aberdeen, and later studied medicine at Edinburgh under Alexander Monro Primus and Robert Smith. He graduated M.D. from Aberdeen in 1743. *The Midwife's Pocket Companion* was divided into three parts which respectively examined

reproductive anatomy, natural and un-natural births, and diseases of mother and child. The work was dedicated to the Edinburgh physician and professor of midwifery Thomas Young. A second edition was published in Aberdeen in 1786. 12o.

Nihell, Elizabeth, *Treatise on the Art of Midwifery* (London: A. Morely, 1760)
Elizabeth Nihell (b. 1723), was an English midwife and author. She studied midwifery at the Hôtel-Dieu in Paris in the late 1740s. In a *Treatise on the Art of Midwifery* Nihell noted her dislike of men encroaching upon the midwifery profession. She condemned their lack of sensitivity and their unnecessary use of medical instruments. She was particularly critical of William Smellie. The book was only printed in a single English edition. A French edition of the text was published in 1771. 6s. 8o.

Ould, Fielding, *A Treatise of Midwifery* (London: L. Nelson & C. Connor, 1730)
Sir Fielding Ould (1710-89), was an Irish man-midwife. From 1729 Ould worked as a demonstrator of dissection at Trinity College, Dublin. *A Treatise of Midwifery* advocated a sympathetic and caring attitude towards women during birth. It also recommended the use of forceps in difficult births. It was re-printed in 1748 and 1767. A new edition was published in Dublin in 1742. 8o.

Sharp, Jane, *The Midwives Book, or, The Whole Art of Midwifry Discovered* (London: S. Miller, 1671)
Jane Sharp (? -1671), was a midwife and author. She was the first woman to publish a midwifery book in English. The text was divided into six sections. It featured discussion of male and female anatomy, conception, fertility, pregnancy, birth, venereal disease and post-birth care for mothers and babies. Sharp's book is notable for its no-nonsense approach to sex, pregnancy and birth. The discussion it contained drew considerably on Culpeper's *Directory for Midwives* (see above). The work ran in to several editions. In 1724 the third edition of the text was published by John Marshall with the new title *The Compleat Midwife's Companion*. A final edition was issued in 1725. 2s 6d. 12o.

Smith, Hugh, *Letters to Married Women* (London: G. Kearsly, 1767)
Hugh Smith was a physician and author (see above). *Letters to Married Women* discussed various issues relating to pregnancy, the effects of the maternal imagination, miscarriage, breast feeding, management of infants, old age and sickness. The text presented a highly sentimentalised view of women. The book was re-published in 1768, 1774 and 1777. It was also published in Philadelphia in 1796. 8o.

Spence, David, *A System of Midwifery, Theoretical and Practical* (Edinburgh: W. Creech, 1784)

David Spence (1747-86), was a Scottish midwife. He graduated M.D. from Edinburgh in 1767. He studied under Thomas Young and John Balfour. The text presented observations on difficult births derived from 55 patient case histories. It discussed reproductive anatomy, menstruation, conception, generation, development of the foetus, diseases of pregnant and postpartum women, and infant care. It also included 26 copper-plate engravings. It was re-published in German in 1786. 12s. 8o.

Advice Guides

Anon., *A Rich Closet of Physical Secrets* (London: G. Dawson, 1652)
A Rich Closet was a recipe book with receipts on how to prepare cosmetics and medicines. The first part consisted of a series of medicinal recipes, the second was a plague tract, and the third provided advice on the care of pregnant women. It was published in a further edition in 1653. 4o.

Anon., *The True Fortune-Teller, or, Guide to Knowledge Discovering the Whole Art of Chyromancy, Physiognomy, Metoposcopy, and Astrology* (London: J. Harris, 1686)
This book was published anonymously but the introduction was signed 'J.S.' The text was an astrological book of divination. It provided explanations of chiromancy and physiognomy, and detailed what the appearance of the body revealed about a person's character and health. It also discussed the meanings of moles, dreams and various issues concerning marriage and friendship. The text contained several illustrations of the palm and the face. The book was re-published in 1686. 1s. 12o.

Anon., *Aristotle's Book of Problems, with Other Astronomers, Astrologers, Physicians, and Philosophers*, twenty-sixth edition (London: J. W., J.K., D.M., A.B., E.M., R.R., T.L., B.M. & A. W., 1715)
Aristotle's Book of Problems was first published in 1595. It is assumed to have had multiple authors. It contained answers to more than 900 questions about ethical and intellectual virtues, the body and animals. By 1715 it has been issued in more than 26 editions. In 1776 a thirtieth edition of the text was published. 12o.

Anon., *Look e're You Leap; or, A History of the Lives and Intrigues of Lewd Women,* tenth edition (London: E. Midwinter, 1720)
This book provided a general discussion of the history of women. Generally it presented a negative view of women. It included discussion on how to select a wife and detailed women's duties as maids, wives and widows. The first surviving edition of the text is the tenth edition published in 1720. Further editions were issued in 1741 and 1760. 12o.

Anon., *Fugitive Pieces, on Various Subjects by Several Authors,* two volumes (London: R. & J. Dodsley, 1761)
Fugitive Pieces was a collection of essays by several authors. There were two particularly notable essays. The first was Joseph Spence's essay 'Critio: or a Dialogue on Beauty', which discussed the different qualities of beauty. The second was William Hay's essay 'On Deformity' which detailed Hay's experiences as a disabled person living in London. It was re-printed in Dublin in 1762, and in London in 1765 and 1771. 8o.

Anon., *The Art of Beauty; or, A Companion for the Toilet* (London: J. Williams, 1760)
This text claimed to be written by an 'eminent English physician' who worked at the Russian court. Its actual authorship is un-known. The text provided explicit descriptions of beauty and how it could best be displayed by the body, skin, face, hair, mouth, neck and hands. It also contained recipes for cosmetics. A lot of the information it contained was directly plagiarised from Andry's *Orthopædia* (see above). It was only published in a single edition. 1s 6d. 12o.

Anon., *A Dissertation Upon Head-Dress; Together with a Brief Vindication of High Coloured Hair* (London: J. Williams, 1767)
This text was anonymously written by a 'periwig-maker'. It contained reflections on the attractiveness of the hair and styled wigs, a history of hairstyles and a defence of blond hair. It was only printed in a single edition. 8o.

Anon., *Letters to the Ladies, on the Preservation of Health and Beauty* (London: Robinson & Roberts, 1770)
Letters to the Ladies was a beauty manual that was anonymously attributed to a 'physician.' It described various deformities of the face and body, and how they could be remedied. The book also provided a collection of recipes for the preparation of medicine and cosmetics. 8o.

Anon., *The New London Toilet* (London: Richardson & Urquhart, 1778)
The New London Toilet was a beauty manual which provided instruction on the preparation of perfumes, waters, snuffs, pastels, scented powders, pomatums and other cosmetic products. Added to the text was a treatise on improving and dressing the hair. The book was only published in a single edition. 8o.

Anon, *The Art of Preserving Beauty: Containing Instructions to Adorn and Embellish the Ladies, Remove Deformities, and Preserve Health* (London: T. Axtell, 1789)
The Art of Preserving Beauty was attributed to a 'physician'. It was a beauty manual which contained advice on how to remove deformities, improve health and remedy the appearance of old age. Each of the chapters were arranged by body part. A lot of the information included in the text was derived or plagiarised from Andry's *Orthopaedia* (see above). It stole its title from *Abdeker: or; The Art of Preserving Beauty* (see below). It was only published in a single edition. 12o.

Gauden, John, *A Discourse of Auxiliary Beauty. Or Artificiall Hansomenesse. In Point of Conscience Between two Ladies* (London: R. Royston, 1656)
John Gauden (1599/1600?-1662), was an English bishop and author. *A Discourse of Auxiliary Beauty* condemned women's use of cosmetics on religious grounds. The book was re-published in 1662 under the new title *A Discourse of Artificial Beauty, In Point*

of Conscience between two ladies with some Satryrical Censures on the Vulgar Errors of these Times. A second edition of the book was published in 1692. The text was also re-published in the eighteenth century under the title *Several Letters Between Two Ladies* (1701). 8o.

Gilchrist, Peter, *A Treatise on the Hair* (London: printed for the author, 1770)
Peter Gilchrist was a hairdresser. *A Treatise on the Hair* was a hairdressing manual for women. It discussed the latest fashions in hair styling, and how to use hairpieces and colour the hair. It was only published in a single edition. 8o.

Jeamson, Thomas, *Artificall Embellishments or Arts Best Directions How to Preserve Beauty or Procure it* (Oxford: W. Hall, 1665)
Thomas Jeamson was a doctor and author. He gained his M.D. from Oxford in 1664. He was admitted the Royal College of Physicians in 1671. *Artificall Embellishments* was a health and beauty manual. It provided advice on how to improve the appearance of the skin, head, neck, breasts, arms, hands, legs and feet. It also contained instruction on how to prepare perfumes. The text was only published in a single edition.

Lavater, Johann Caspar, *Essays on Physiognomy*, 3 volumes (London; J. Murray, H. Hunter, T. Holloway, 1789)
Johann Caspar (sometimes Kaspar) Lavater (1741-1801), was a Swiss poet, deacon and physiognomist. *Essays on Physiognomy* was first published in German as *Physiognomische Fragmente zur Beförderung der Menschenkenntnis und Menschenliebe* (1775-1778). In the text Lavater sought to present a scientific approach to physiognomy. The first volume dealt with the history and basic principles of physiognomy. Book two was concerned with animal physiognomy. The third book dealt with miscellaneous subjects including beauty, the physiognomic effects of ill-health, chiromancy, gestures, language, and the meanings of each of the individual features of the face. The book relied heavily on Charles Le Brun's *The Conference* (1701) (see beneath). It also contained many high quality illustrations. In 1789 it was translated into English by Henry Hunter (1741-1801), minister of the Scots Church in London. The book was extremely popular and was published in a new edition every year between 1792 and 1810. 4o.

Le Brun, Charles, *The Conference of Monsieur Le Brun* (London: J. Smith, E. Cooper & D. Mortier, 1701)
Charles Le Brun (1619-1690), was a French painter and art theorist. Le Brun was also one of Louis XIV's favourite artists. The text began its life as a series of monthly lectures given by Le Brun at the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture in Paris. These lectures were published in French as *The Conference sur L'expression Generale et Particuliere* in 1698. The text was first published in English in 1701. The book

discussed how the face displayed different emotions. It also featured 42 copper-plate engravings illustrating different expressions. It was only published in a single English edition. 12o.

Le Camus., Antoine, *Abdeker: or; The Art of Preserving Beauty* (London: A. Millar, 1754)

Antoine Le Camus was a physician and regent of the Faculté de Médicine in Paris. *Abdeker* was first published anonymously and claimed to be a translation of a fifteenth-century Arabian Manuscript written by Diamantes Utasto, brought to Paris by a Turkish Ambassador in 1740. The book contained an account of a fictional love story between an Arab physician and a Persian beauty called Fatima, concubine to Sultan Mahomet II. It also featured explicit descriptions of beauty, explanations of how beauty could be cultivated and enhanced, and a collection of cosmetic recipes. A condensed edition of the text was re-published in Dublin in 1756. 12o.

Mandeville, Bernard, *The Fable of the Bees* (London: J. Roberts, 1714)

Bernard Mandeville was a physician and author (see above). *The Fable of the Bees* discussed the economic and social changes taking place in early eighteenth-century Britain. It generally promoted a favourable view of modern commercialism. The text also included the poem, *The Grumbling Hive; or, Knaves turn'd Honest*. It was re-printed in 1723, 1725, 1729, 1730, 1732, 1733, 1772 and 1795. It was also published in Edinburgh in 1755. 12o.

N. H., *The Ladies Dictionary* (London: J. Dunton, 1694)

The Ladies Dictionary consisted of around 1950 lexical and encyclopaedic entries. Most of the information it contained was taken or adapted from other published texts. It was the first reference work published in English principally targeted at woman. The book was only published in a single edition. 8o.

Quillet, Claude, *Callipaedia; Or the Art of How to Have Handsome Children,* second edition (London: J. T, 1718)

Claude Quillet (1602-1661), was a French physician and poet. *Callipaedia* was a poem, written in Latin, that was first published in Leiden in 1665. It was later translated into French. The poem detailed the ways in which couples could produce attractive children. It contained some discussion of astrology and the effects of the maternal imagination. Some case studies from Quillet's own clinical experience were also mentioned. It was first translated into English by William Oldesworth in 1710. *Callipaedia* was published in further editions in London, Edinburgh and Dublin in 1718, 1720, 1728, 1732, 1750, 1766, 1768, 1769 and 1771. 8o.

Rameau, Pierre, *The Dancing Master, or, The Art of Dancing* (London: J. Brotheron, 1728)

Pierre Rameau (1674-1748), was a French dancing master and author. The text explained how to perform various dance steps and how to position the arms when dancing. It also featured 60 copper-plate engravings of various dance steps. A second edition was published in 1731. 4o.

Raoul-Auger, Feuillet, *The Art of Dancing* (London: printed for the author, 1706)

Feuillet Raoul-Auger (1653-1709), was a French author and choreographer. *The Art of Dancing* detailed various dance steps and positions. It was translated from French by a dancing master called P. Siris in 1706. It included several diagrams illustrating the steps for different dances. It was re-published under the title of *The Dancing-Master; or, The Art of Dancing Explained* in 1728 and 1731. 4o.

Ripa, *Caesar*, *Iconologia: or, Moral Emblems, By Cæser Ripa* (London: B. Motte, 1709)

Caesar Ripa (1560-1645), was an Italian iconographer. *Iconologia* was an emblem book which discussed various Egyptian, Greek and Roman emblematical representations. The first edition was published in Italy as *Iconologia Overo Descrittione Dell'magini cavate dall'Antichita et da Altri Luoghi*. A second enlarged edition was published in 1603. It was translated into English by the print-seller Pierce Tempest (1653-1717), in 1709. 4o.

Ritchie, David, *A Treatise on the Hair* (London: printed for the author, 1770)

David Ritchie was a hairdresser, perfumer and amateur anatomist. *A Treatise on the Hair* discussed the causes of baldness, differences in hair colouration, hairstyling and how to manage the hair in child-bed and in hot countries. It also gave men advice on selecting and styling wigs. At the end it included a defence of hairdressing and general commentary on dress. It was only published in a single edition. 8o.

Saunders, Richard, *Physiognomie, and Chiromancie, Metoposcopie the Symmetrical Proportions and Signal Moles of the Body, Fully and Accurately Handled* (London: R. White, 1653)

Richard Saunders (1613-1675), was a medical practitioner and astrologer. *Physiognomie, and Chiromancie, Metoposcopie* was Saunders' first book. It was an expensive illustrated folio that contained discussion of astrology and fortune-telling. In 1671 a second enlarged folio edition was issued. Between 1663 and 1676 four other editions of the text were published. These were smaller and cheaper pocket versions of the 1653 folio and were created specifically for the popular market. 10s. Folio.

Smith, Eliza, *The Compleat Housewife; or, Accomplished Gentlewoman's Companion,* second edition (London: J. Pemberton, 1727)

Eliza Smith (?-1732?), was a cookery writer. *The Compleat Housewife* contained recipes and medicinal receipts. It also featured several copper-plates which depicted how various dishes and courses should be prepared. Further editions of the text were published in 1728, 1729, 1730, 1732, 1734, 1736, 1739, 1741, 1742, 1746, 1747, 1750, 1753 and 1754. 8o.

Smith, Samuel Stanhope, *An Essay on the Causes of the Variety of Complexion* (Philadelphia: R. Aitken, 1787)

Samuel Stanhope Smith (1751-1819), was a Presbyterian minister and founding president of Hampden-Sydney College. He was also the seventh president of the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University), and a key figure in the anti-slavery movement. *An Essay on the Causes of the Variety of Complexion* attempted to demonstrate that different forms of skin colouration were caused by climatic variations rather than fundamental racial distinctions. The book was first published in Philadelphia in 1787. It was also issued in London in 1787 and 1789, and in Edinburgh in 1788. 8o.

Stewart, James, *Plocacosmos: or, The Whole Art of Hairdressing* (London: printed for the author, 1782)

James Stewart was a fashionable hairdresser and hair-historian. *Plocacosmos* was a lengthy book which presented a general history of hair from ancient times until 1745. It provided technical information about how people could style their hair in accordance with the latest fashions. It also featured several copper-plate engravings of fashionable hairstyles. It was only published in a single edition. 8o.

Stewart, Alexander, *The Natural Production of the Hair* (London: printed for the author, 1795)

Stewart Alexander was a hairdresser, author and proprietor of a hairdressing academy in London. *The Natural Production of the Hair* discussed the uses and growth of the hair, and the causes of different sorts of hair colouration. It also instructed people on how they could style their hair. It was published in only one edition. 8o.

Tryon, Thomas, *The Merchant, Citizen and Countryman's Instructor* (London: E. Harris, 1701)

Thomas Tryon was an advice writer (see above). *The Merchant, Citizen and Country-man's Instructor* was a practical and moral guide to life in the West Indies. It also contained discussion on bringing-up children and astrology, as well as practical advice on house building, death and the burial of birds. The text was originally published as *Tyron's Letters* by George Conyers in 1700. 2s 6d. 8o.

Ward, Edward, *The London-Spy Compleat*, two volumes (London: J. How, 1700)
Edward Ward (1667-1731), was an English satirist. *The London-Spy* was a satirical guide to London which, beginning in 1698, was originally printed in eighteenth monthly parts. The text discussed various aspects of London life. It also included many racy anecdotes and character sketches. *The London-Spy* appeared in its fourth edition in 1709. 8o.

Ward, Edward, *The History of the London Clubs,* two volumes, fourth edition (London: J. How, 1709)
This text was a satire on London's growing associational culture and discussed the activities of 32 London clubs. Most the clubs described in the book were fictional. The only exception was the Kit-Cat Club. 8o.

Weaver, John, *An Essay Towards an History of Dancing, in which the Whole Art and its Various Excellencies are in some Measure Explain'd* (London; J. Tonson, 1712)
John Weaver (1673-1760), was a dancer and choreographer. A*n Essay Towards an History of Dancing* discussed the history of dance. It presented dancing as a vital aspect of civilised culture and an important means of training the body in politeness. The text was discussed in *The Spectator* (No. 334, 24th March 1712). It appeared in only one edition. 8o.

Weaver, John, *Anatomical and Mechanical Lectures upon Dancing* (London; J. Brotherton, W. Meadows, J. Graves, W. Chetwood, 1721)
An Anatomical and Mechanical Lectures began its life as a series of anatomical lectures delivered to an audience of distinguished dancing masters. It was this audience who provided the funds for the book to be printed in 1721. John Essex (see above) was listed among the subscribers. The text included basic discussion of the anatomy of the body and instruction upon dancing. It was only printed in single edition. 8o.

Wecker, Johnn, *Arts Master-Piece: Or, the Beautifying Part of Physick* (London: N. Brook, 1660)
Johann Wecker (1528-1586), was a Swiss physician. *Arts Mater-Piece* discussed physical defects in men and women, and how they could be remedied. It also contained receipts and recipes for medicine and cosmetics. It was only published in a single edition under this title. 8o.

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The Spectator

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Anon., *Advice to a Son, Directing him how to Demean Himself in the Most Important Passages of Life,* fourth edition (London: W. Taylor, 1716)

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Anon., *The Young Lady's Companion: or, Beauty's Looking-Glass* (London: T. Read, 1740)

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